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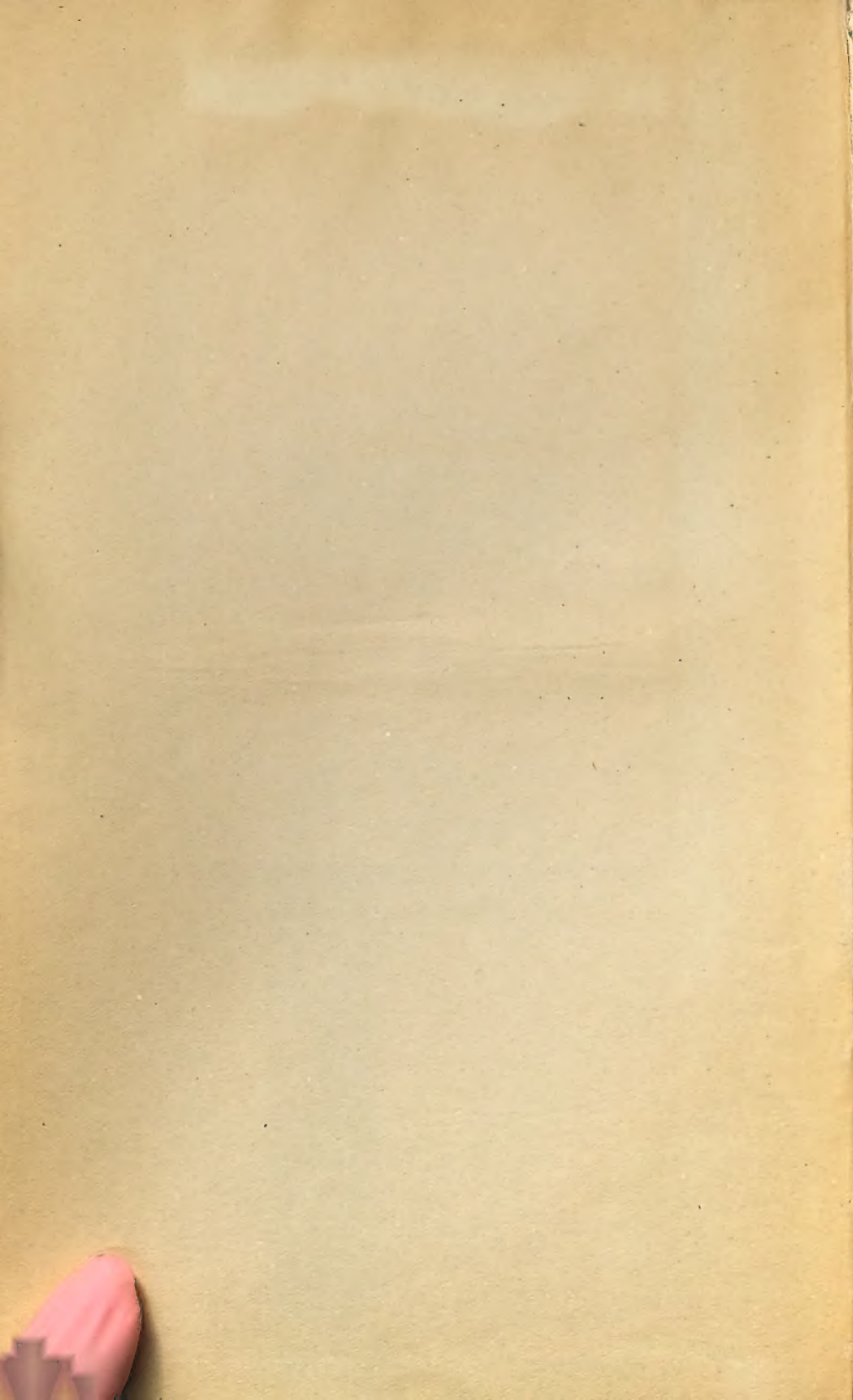
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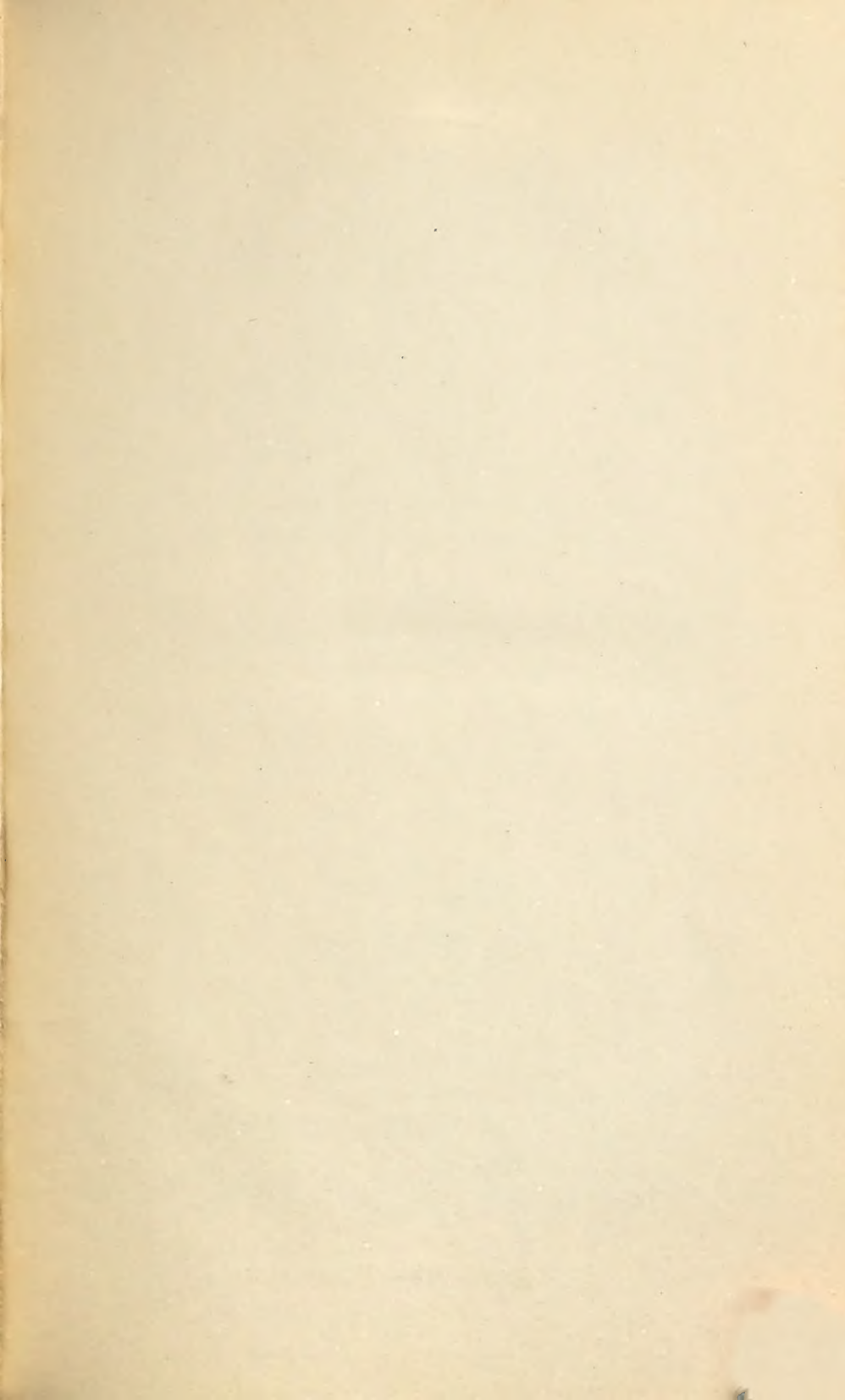
The Assertion of King Arthure

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

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1925 (for 1923)

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THE
Famous Historie of
Chinon of England, with his
strange aduentures for the loue of Ce-
lestina daughter to Lewis King
of Fraunce.

With the worthy Atchiuement
of Sir Lancelot du Lake, and Sir Tristram
du Lions for faire Laura, daughter to Ca-
dor Earle of Cornewall, beeing all
Knights of King Arthurs
round Table.
By Chr. Middleton.



AT LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Danter, for Cuthbert Burbit, and
are to be sold at his shop by the Royall
Exchange. 1597.

The Famous Historie of Chinon of England

BY

CHRISTOPHER MIDDLETON

TO WHICH IS ADDED

The Assertion of King Arthure

TRANSLATED BY RICHARD ROBINSON FROM LELAND'S

Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii

TOGETHER WITH THE LATIN ORIGINAL

EDITED FROM COPIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY

WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD, PH.D.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
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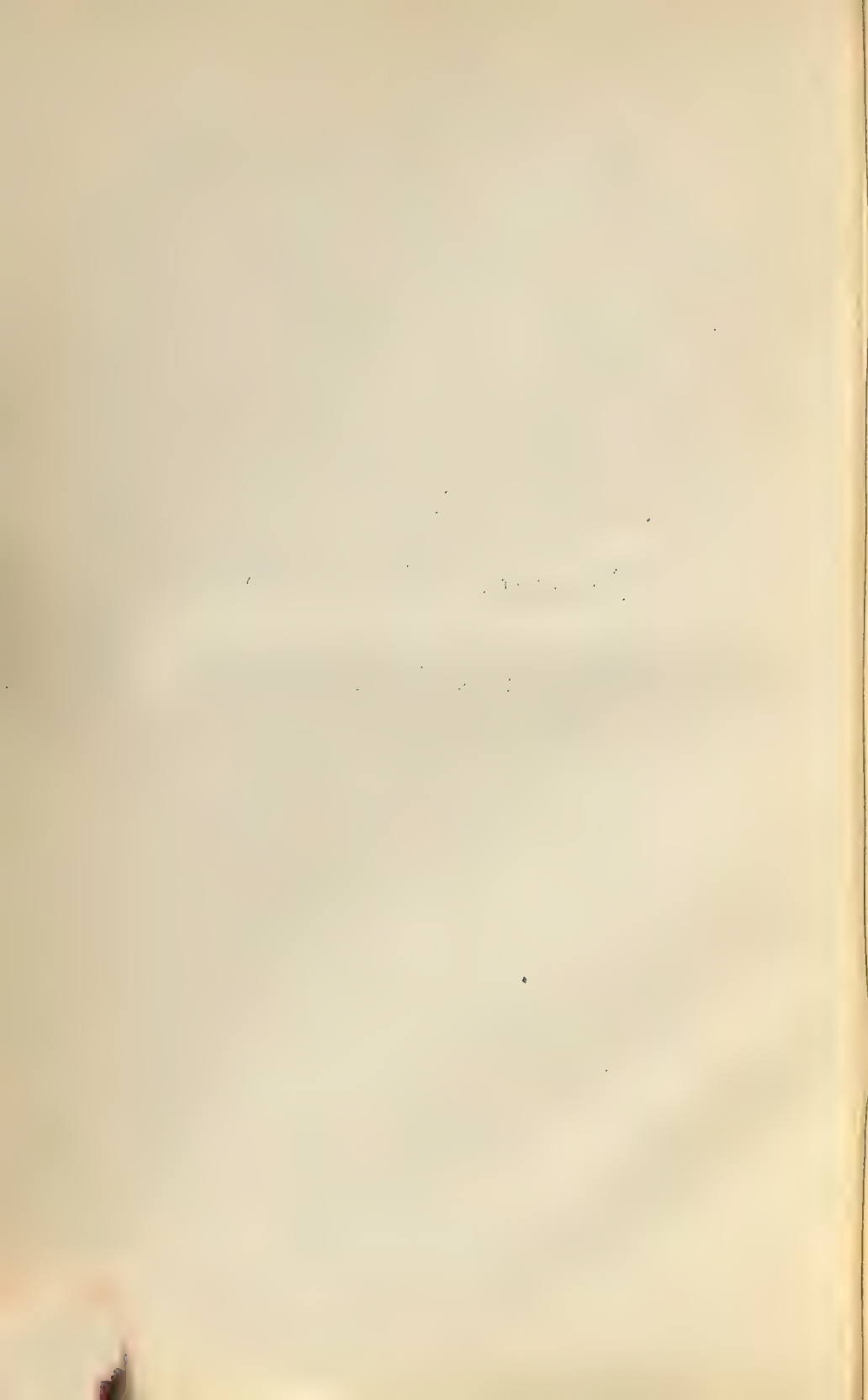
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The
Famous Historie of
Chinon of England



PREFACE

THE late Arthurian romance of *Chinon of England*, here reprinted for the first time, from the copy in the British Museum, has there been accessible for a good number of years to students of English romance, but beyond slight incidental mention¹ it has hitherto practically escaped attention. There may, however, still be unsuspected copies in private libraries, like the one that came into the market a year or two ago from the Britwell collection.

Of the author, Christopher Middleton, we have scanty information, but in the *Dictionary of National Biography* he is doubtfully identified 'with the Christopher Middleton of Cheshire who matriculated from Brasenose College, Oxford, 12 Dec. 1580, aged 20'. Of Middleton's literary work apart from *Chinon* there is not much to be said. His first production, printed in 1595, was a translation, with woodcut illustrations, of Everard Digby's *De Arte Natandi*, 1587. His second work was *The Historie of Heaven: containing the Poetical Fictions of all the Starres in the Firmament, gathered from amongst all the Poets and*

¹ In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. *Christopher Middleton*, in A. J. K. Esdaile's *List of English Tales and Romances Printed before 1740*. Part I, 1475-1642; Part II, 1643-1749, Bibliographical Society, London, 1912, in F. E. Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*, 1558-1642, vol. i, &c.

Astronomers, 1596. His third publication was *Chinon of England*, 1597; and his fourth, *The Legend of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, London, 1600. This rather elaborate work, in 184 six-line stanzas, follows the plan of the poems contributed to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and is not notably inferior to some of them. It has even been reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*.

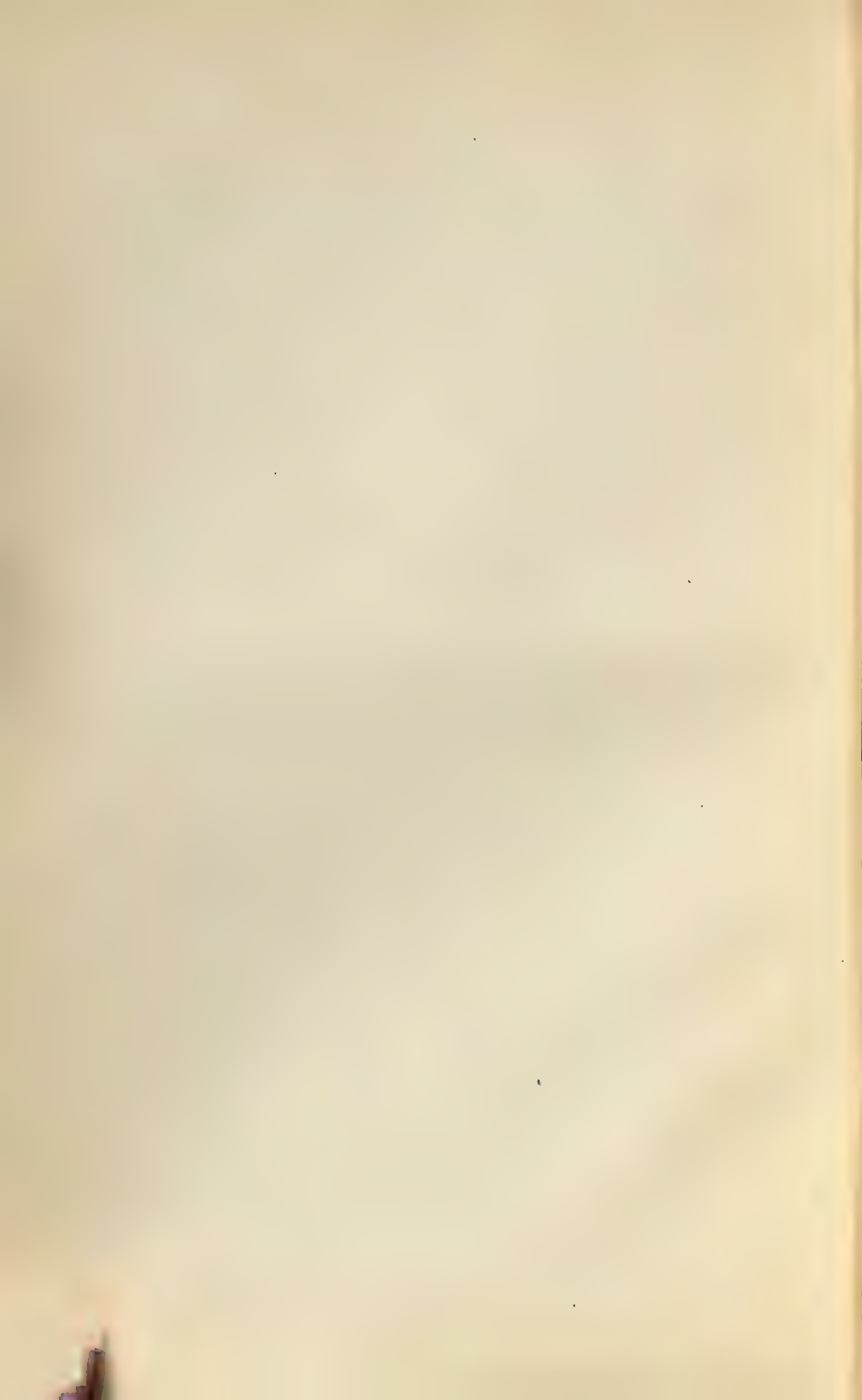
In the lack of the author's manuscript we have to base our edition of the romance upon the rather slovenly work of the sixteenth-century printer. We do not know, therefore, whether the somewhat numerous instances of carelessness and confusion of various sorts are to be charged to the author, the compositor, or the proof-reader.

In the preparation of the present edition I am indebted to my wife for a careful copy of the entire romance and for assistance in reading the proof, and to the compositors and proof-readers of the Oxford University Press for their vigilance and accuracy. I have also to thank Miss Mabel Day, D.Lit., Assistant Director of the Early English Text Society, not only for reading proof but for attending to various details in connexion with the printing, and, lastly, Sir Israel Gollancz, Director of the Early English Text Society, whose ready co-operation has made possible the publication, not only of the romance of *Chinon of England*, but also of the curiously interesting *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii* of the antiquary John Leland, and the sixteenth-century translation of the same by Richard Robinson.

Great care has been taken to ensure an accurate text of the romance, which has been read three times with the original edition in the British Museum. Spelling and capitalization have been carefully reproduced, but in view of the carelessness of the old printers a slight modification of the punctuation has been made in order to bring some light into obscure sentences.

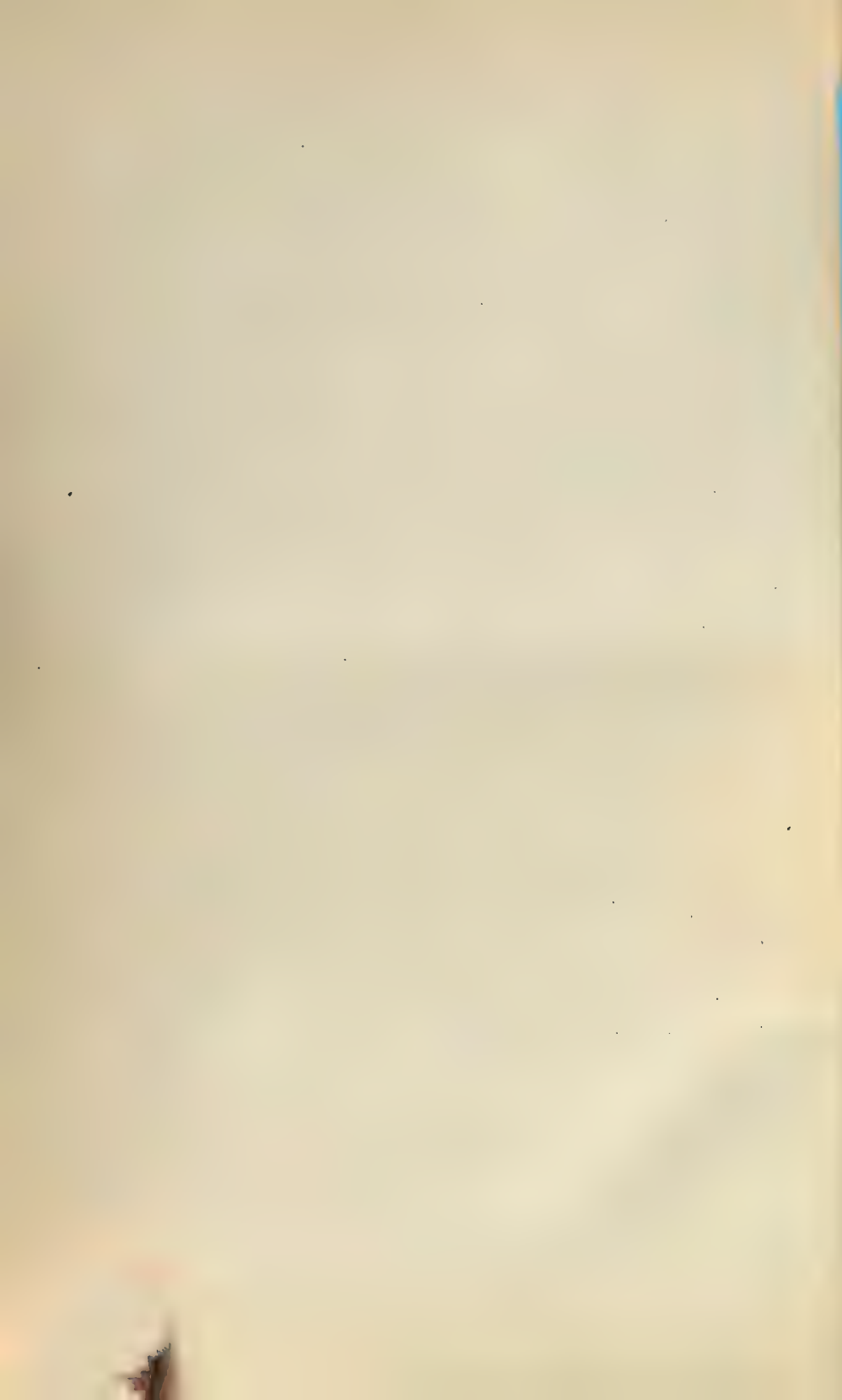
W. E. M.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
MIDDLETOWN, CONN., U.S.A.
September 15, 1924.



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ERRATUM

Page lviii, line 8 from bottom *for* Celestina's *read* Cassiopeia's

E.E.T.S.—*Chinon of England.*

INTRODUCTION

I

THE VITALITY OF MEDIEVALISM

UP to the present time, with some striking exceptions, notably in the field of the drama, comparatively little attention has been given to the medieval survivals in the time of Elizabeth, in so far as they are literary. But investigation discloses what in the aggregate is a large body of material, much of it scattered and hitherto never brought together in orderly fashion, although, beyond question, the literary history of the period cannot be adequately written until account is taken of the lingering medieval survivals.

The average reader assumes, without giving much thought to the matter, that with the invention of printing, the discovery of America, and the Revival of Learning this medieval literature, with some striking exceptions, came to a rather abrupt end. And one must admit that in the course of two or three generations stupendous changes were wrought in the structure of English society, in the forms of worship, in the materials and methods of education, in numberless externals of life, and in the very habits of thought. We not inaptly refer to the period as the age of the Protestant Revolution and, still more expressively, as the Renaissance, the rebirth. And when we fix our attention upon the things that were new we can hardly exaggerate their number or their importance.

But modern science has taught us to doubt the completeness of sudden and cataclysmic changes in society. What seems sudden, as, for example, the French Revolution, has been preparing for generations. What seems to be destroyed and swept away often reappears later in another form. We might, therefore, on general principles raise the question whether we must assume without discussion the utter decay and suppression of medieval habits of thought in the presence of the new tendencies.

As a matter of fact, we find that the Middle Ages died very slowly, for they were in a sense a state of mind, and this state of mind, so difficult to define yet so easy to recognize in its works, persisted long after the flood of newly discovered classic literature had swept over the land and long after the official separation of the English Church from Rome. We must not, forget, moreover, that until recently England has been one of the most conservative countries in the world. And four hundred years ago such a country, all unused to radical innovation, would have been quite unlikely to change its habits of thought overnight and to consign to sudden oblivion the favourite tales, the favourite ballads, and the favourite amusements that had long been a part of the national life.

No one can deny that in a thousand ways England had changed in the two centuries between 1375 and 1575. It would indeed be folly to pretend that the general state of society in 1575 closely resembled the state of society in 1475, but that is far from saying that from top to bottom old things had passed away and all things become new.

In endeavouring, however, to present in rough outline some aspects of medieval life and literature still surviving in the period commonly regarded as modern, one becomes painfully aware that the material, though abundant, has not until recently¹ been duly assembled and co-ordinated. Much still remains to be done. In fact, for many years the old, inherited literature was mainly ignored by writers on the history of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. A well-known sketch of Elizabethan literature proceeds almost as though there had never been a past, and Swinburne's study of Ben Jonson would hardly arouse a suspicion that Jonson was interested in any period, except the classical, outside his own. No reader of a recent interesting account of seventeenth-century English literature would imagine that a great mass of the popular literature in the time of Milton and Bunyan was a modernized survival of medieval romance and poetry.

¹ Two of the most notable works dealing with matters of this kind are *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, New York and London, 14 vols. (with ample bibliography), 1907 ff.; and the collective work entitled *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2 vols., 1916. Important, too, is E. K. Chambers's *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 2 vols., 1903 and later. Mention should be made also of Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, Berdan's *Early Tudor Poetry*, &c.

For this attitude the reason is obvious. The newer literature is of greater interest to the average modern reader, and the historian of literature generally aims to point out what is beginning to dominate the field rather than to follow the sometimes obscure traces of a literature which is vanishing and is at no distant date practically to disappear.

To this vanishing literature we shall come shortly in this brief survey. But meanwhile we shall do well to glance at a few suggestive facts relating to the country as a whole, remembering that the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth was removed from the time of Richard III and from what in one sense we may call the downfall of feudalism by no more than the span of one long life. More than one old man who threw his hat into the air and cheered the Virgin Queen as she passed through the streets of London might have cheered for Warwick the Kingmaker in the fifteenth century and admired the almost royal state in which he lived and feasted. Such an old man would have witnessed the beginnings of printing in England, would have heard the first strange news of the discovery of a new world of untold wealth, might have viewed the lavish splendour of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, might have had a hand in the dismantling of great abbeys like Walsingham or Glastonbury or Fountains, and perhaps seen a few heretics burned alive in the days of Bloody Mary. He would have noted, without doubt, in his later years the great increase in the number of rogues and sturdy beggars owing to the dispossession of small tenant farmers to make way for vast enclosed fields as sheep pastures.

These and multitudes of other facts must not be overlooked when one endeavours to realize conditions in the sixteenth century. But the general aspect of the country must have been much the same as before. The fair large manor-houses of which old Harrison speaks with pride in his survey of England were for the most part yet unbuilt, though there was no lack of great houses and castles, like Warwick and Windsor and Hever and Haddon Hall and Ludlow, and scores of others that had for generations been the boast of the districts in which they were situated. More than one of the monasteries, like Battle Abbey and Welbeck, had fallen into the hands of rich families and been transformed to meet the needs of a luxurious household. But in very large measure the old man could see in travelling from one part of the country to another

that the general aspect of the towns and the countryside remained surprisingly unchanged. Despite the barbarity of the Wars of the Roses, these conflicts had caused singularly little destruction of notable buildings, to say nothing of the dwellings of humble folk. Towns and cities were not levelled to the ground in the fashion only too familiar in modern warfare. As a rule, the old city walls still survived, as they do yet in large measure at Chester and York and Oxford and Colchester and Conway, and although a well-directed heavy shot would have caused a serious breach, the old fortifications made a brave show with their towers and their battlements, their drawbridges, and their massive gates studded with iron bolts.

As for the streets, they presented long rows of high-gabled houses of the medieval type, such as we still find here and there in old English towns, in the Shambles at York, in bits of ancient Shrewsbury or Hereford or Canterbury or Tewkesbury. To realize more fully the aspect of an old English town, one must go to the Continent, to Lisieux, to Dinan, to Vitry, to Braunschweig, to Hildesheim, where multitudes of houses and other buildings—allowing for inevitable changes in details—present substantially the appearance that they had in the later Middle Ages. Most notable of all, the beautiful English churches, with their rich glass and their exquisite carvings, were not yet delivered over to the tender mercies of Puritan fanatics, and still exhibited, hardly defaced, the artistic glories that our modern architects strive in vain to equal. The market-places, with their carved butter-crosses, their booths, and their throngs of petty dealers crying their wares, made an impression almost wholly medieval. Even yet, the open markets, as one sees them in various parts of the Continent, seem like a practically unaltered feature of the life of five or six centuries ago.

Before the end of the sixteenth century there were of course many changes in the material aspects of England. Great new houses, on a grander scale than ever before attempted in the island, were built in every part of the country, and English life in general took on a lavishness hitherto confined to a favoured few. Obviously, the wealth of Elizabethan England, drawn from a rapidly increasing commerce and the gold and silver of the New World, had risen to a level hitherto unknown.

As for the people of the Elizabethan time, they were notable for

their fondness for brilliant processions, for pageants of every sort, full of glitter and colour, such as had delighted the Middle Ages. Their amusements were in large measure those of generations before—wrestling, cock-throwing, putting the stone, bear baiting, dancing round the maypole, Christmas mumming, and a multitude of other inherited diversions that lasted far into the seventeenth century. That genial scholar, Roger Ascham, the tutor of Queen Elizabeth, published in 1545 a famous treatise on the use of the bow, the primitive weapon which indeed in actual warfare was largely displaced before the end of the century, but which retained great popularity as a healthful means of recreation. Fox-hunting was followed substantially as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the Middle Ages hawking had been the favourite sport of the nobility. We even see Earl Harold depicted in the Bayeux tapestry with a hawk on his wrist. Only the wealthiest classes could afford the expense of hawking, but in the sixteenth century and later they still followed it with much of the zest of their ancestors. The tilts and tournaments that had captivated the Middle Ages had indeed largely ceased to be a preparation for serious warfare, but as a diversion they still persisted. The tragic death of Henry II of France in a tilting match in 1559 brought tournaments to an end in that country, but in England they were popular up to the end of the sixteenth century, and under the encouragement of Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I, they continued for some years in the seventeenth century.

One is tempted to dwell unduly long upon these features of the older life that appeal to the eye, but although there is much more to add we must pass to another type of survivals, those representing the literature. Of these, as already remarked, there is a much larger amount than the popular histories of literature give any reason to suspect.

We may of course admit without hesitation that under the influence of the Renaissance the prevailing note of the literature from 1550 to 1650 is classical,¹ much of it with no trace of mediæval influence. Allusions to ancient mythology abound at every turn. In many cases the whole substance of a poem, in so far as lies in the author's power, is classical. But nevertheless, although

¹ The strong French and Italian influence in the same period further strengthened the tendency to imitate classical models.

highly educated writers delighted to spread before the world the fruits of their newly won learning, the themes that had held the attention of the Middle Ages for centuries could not without further ceremony be consigned to oblivion. That dogged conservatism which is ingrained in the English temperament clung to the traditions of the olden time; and while scholars at the universities in their English poems were familiarly addressing Jove and Apollo and Venus, along with the nymphs and satyrs that became indispensable in English poetry for a century and a half; while brilliant wits at court were pointing their sentences with euphuistic phrases—which, by the way, largely drew upon the traditional medieval lore collected in the old bestiaries and lapidaries—humbler folk were reading and telling the old tales of Arthur and Robin Hood and Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton and Merlin the Enchanter.

There is indeed, in the aggregate, a very large body of popular medieval literature, sometimes in the form of ballads, sometimes in the form of verse romances more or less modernized, or of short prose tales, which survived the troubled sixteenth century and still lived in the seventeenth century and beyond it. Much of it has been collected in Percy's *Reliques*, in the publications of the Ballad Society and the Percy Society, in Hazlitt's *Early Popular Poetry*, in Thoms's *Early English Prose Romances*, and so on. But there is still a great mass of scattered material, either in the form of a modernized and abridged prose romance, a short poem, or of a mere allusion that no one has made accessible.

We are liable to under-estimate the amount of this surviving material, since, to a great degree, it lived on in humble surroundings, amid people who had no thought of literary values but only of entertainment.

I cannot undertake here to present in detail—if we are to have due regard for proportion—the evidence for this statement, but I cite a few facts that we should not overlook.

All in all, the most notable contribution of the Elizabethan age to literature is the drama, but practically all of that drama which we now read was produced after 1590. Tentative efforts in the new field were repeatedly made during the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign. But what on the whole had the popular support during that time was the old inherited miracle and mystery plays, with their

conventional scenery and their peculiarly medieval flavour. Probably everybody in England had witnessed one or more of these plays, had shuddered at the slaughter of the Innocents and been thrilled by the reproduction of the scenes of Passion Week. Still more homely and primitive than the mystery plays were the popular Robin Hood plays, introducing the outlaw and Maid Marian, and affording opportunity for pretty rural scenes and ancient rustic sports. These plays became a regular part of the inherited May games.

All these popular representations were rapidly replaced in the closing years of the century by plays of a more artistic and coherent type, with a closely woven plot. The new plays drew their themes from Spain, from France, from Renaissance Italy, from ancient Greece, from ancient Rome. But the Middle Ages were not passed by. To say nothing of Shakespeare's brilliant series of historical plays, all but one of which deal with an age before the discovery of America, a good number of his other plays are a direct outgrowth of medieval legend or tradition. Such is *Cymbeline*, such is *King Lear*, the story of which goes back to Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century and even earlier; such, in some of their elements, are *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*. Largely based upon popular fairy tradition transformed by the creative genius of Shakespeare is *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It would be easy to illustrate at undue length the extent to which the dramatists, either in choice of theme, or in allusion, or in satirical attack, as in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, show that the Middle Ages still loom large in their thought.

But we have a number of other important matters to consider; and first the old English ballad. The ballad is a type of literature going back to a far more primitive age than ours. One essential of its popularity is its simplicity and its appeal to natural emotion. We all remember how Bishop Percy in the artificial eighteenth century felt obliged to apologize for the publication of the famous manuscript that bears his name. He had been requested, he says, by many gentlemen 'of learning and character' to undertake the work, and he hoped that their names would 'serve him as an amulet to guard him against every unfavourable censure for having bestowed any attention on a parcel of Old Ballads'.

The manuscript that Percy used had been copied toward the middle of the seventeenth century in a tall ledger-like volume from

its 'original of 1420,¹ or earlier'. The manuscript is carelessly written on coarse paper and shows no trace of artistic decoration. It was made, not for show but for use, by some one who cared enough for old ballads to go to the trouble or the expense of bringing together a large number of them in convenient form. But we need not cite the Percy Folio to prove the popularity of ballads in the time of Elizabeth and later. We have only to turn to the specimens quoted in Shakespeare and rival dramatists, to say nothing of other contemporary writers, to see to what an extent the ballad still maintained its popularity. Old favourites like *Chevy Chase* remained to stir Sir Philip Sidney, as he himself said, more than the sound of a trumpet; and the many ballads on Robin Hood long continued to be recited. Constant repetition led to imitation. The ballad form—perhaps the easiest type of verse for the budding poet—encouraged a vast amount of new production, the fruits of which we see in Child's great collection and the bulky volumes of the Ballad Society.

The ballads as a rule tell or imply a story and hence make a natural transition to the romance, whether in prose or verse. In the Middle Ages no popular demand was stronger than that which called for stories. The Church met the demand with a vast number of saints' lives—now buried in the huge folios of the *Acta Sanctorum*, where fact and fiction are impartially blended. Less saintly material found its way into the *fabliaux*, which made up part of the then stock-in-trade of the wandering minstrel or gleeman, who would perform acrobatic feats and sleight-of-hand tricks in the public square, and at the tavern rehearse before hilarious listeners the amorous adventures of ploughmen and cattle herders, of monks and priests and prioresses. As may be imagined, some of these narratives are not excessively delicate, but, on the other hand, they are not seductive. They move in a world so different from ours that we are no more drawn to imitate the actors than we are to imitate the pigs in a sty. The situations are commonly farcical and doubtless brought out the roars of laughter that the narrator aimed to arouse—for the ultimate benefit of his pocket.

In one form or another this kind of entertainment retained its popularity in the time of Elizabeth. Refinement of a sort had become conventional in society, but we need only glance at

¹ A good number of these pieces are obviously much later.

a Restoration comedy or at poems written by eminent and doubtless truly religious clergy of the established church to realize that delicacy is a purely relative term. In the seventeenth century women of unimpeachable character exposed their beauty in a fashion that might seem too daring for a cabaret dancer in our time. It is, then, not at all surprising that multitudes of topics commonly ignored in our social gatherings were joyously exploited, and that *risqué* situations in popular tales were relished by women quite as much as by men.

A striking illustration of the frank acceptance of the facts of everyday life is seen in the coarse conduct and speech of even the higher classes of society at weddings, where the universally tolerated freedom of speech was a direct inheritance from earlier generations. Allusions such as commonly appear in the epithalamium, 'sung', as Ben Jonson tells us, 'when the bride was led into her chamber', would now be resented in our lowest circles. Needless to say, the epithalamium is an imitation of classic models, but in its content it follows medieval standards of propriety or what passed for such. We may not be really better than our ancestors, but in speech and conduct we take somewhat less obvious delight in ostentatious nuditarianism.

Even in the seventeenth century a reaction against open impropriety was undoubtedly preparing, and when the Puritans for a few years got the upper hand outward decorum became the rule. But with the Restoration a more than medieval licence swept over the land, and again for a generation men and women of high social standing unblushingly jested on situations such as moved the fourteenth-century Chaucer to repeated apology.

II

THE SURVIVAL OF ROMANCE

WE have already in passing touched upon the fondness of the Middle Ages for stories of all sorts, whether in prose or verse. With the dawn of the sixteenth century the romances that had been the main dependence of the reading—perhaps we ought to say *listening*—public for generations were not at once cast aside. Most of the books printed by Caxton, and a good part of those issued by Wynkyn de Worde, William Copland, and other printers,

were books of entertainment, and held their popularity quite as long as modern works of fiction.

We cannot here take up in detail the multitude of popular romances, old and new, that continue the traditions of the Middle Ages. But we must name in passing the famous *Amadis of Gaul*, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century and Englished in 1567,¹ with its successors, *The Exploits of Esplandrian*, son of Amadis, *Lisuarte of Greece*, son of Esplandrian, and so on. Besides these elaborate romances, which were far too bulky and expensive for the ordinary purse, there were many short tales in prose or verse that circulated widely in cheap editions and kept alive in the popular mind some conception, however confused and imperfect, of the heroes of medieval romance. *The Life of Robert the Devil*, with its bad beginning and its edifying close, was known in some form to most readers; and not less famous was the touching old story of *The Knight of Curtesy and the Fair Lady of Faguell*, published by William Copland in 1568. Popular in its turn was the romance relating the adventures of *Helyas, Knight of the Swan*, and telling of the birth of 'Godfrey of Boulyon'. So, too, was the interesting verse romance of *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, first published by Wynkyn de Worde and later by William Copland and represented by a brief version in the Percy Folio MS.

Some of the earlier sixteenth-century prose romances are written in the plain style that befits a plain man telling a story as he best can. Some of the later romances—such as Lodge's *Rosalynde*, a version of the story told in the *Tale of Gamelyn*, sometimes credited to Chaucer and the main source of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*—are overloaded with ornament and so verbose that the reader is choked in a very sea of words. In the same cloying, gluey style is the tale of *Apollonius of Tyre*, which appears in 1608 as a prose novel under the title *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*. An Anglo-Saxon prose version tells the story in simple and attractive style; and the form in the prose of the *Gesta Romanorum* and in the verse of Gower is interesting and unaffected, but the overwrought and inflated periods of the Elizabethan version put a heavy tax upon a reader's patience.

Much more might be said on the romances of various types, but we must pass in a moment to the Arthurian group. Before doing

¹ Under the title, *The Treasury of Amadis of France*.

so, however, we must at least glance at the greatest poetic and romantic achievement of the reign of Elizabeth, Spenser's *Faery Queene*, in some sense itself an Arthurian poem. It is to be feared that this poem is now more admired than read, for most of the great problems that make Spenser's lines throb with intense feeling awaken but slight sympathy in the modern reader, and he cares little about the wiles of Duessa or Archimago, and still less about the Blatant Beast or that portentous dragon which exceeds the measure of all recorded beasts, stretching as he does from one valley over into another. What charms us in Spenser is the endless succession of scenes richly coloured with all the lavishness of the Renaissance and of the Middle Ages. No one has ever more clearly realized the picturesqueness of the great period whose glory was already dimmed and soon to be hardly a memory. In a sense the past age lives again in his verse. And yet the illusion is hardly perfect. The civilization of his time is far more complex in many ways than that of the Middle Ages and more sensitive to new impressions from every side. In a thousand forms the new life pulsates though his entire poem. And although Spenser at times effaces himself in the scenes he portrays, he presently reappears in his own person as the stout Protestant of the sixteenth century.

He essays to write the English of an earlier age, but the more one knows of the English of the Middle Ages the more one realizes that Spenser's English is not the English of Malory or Lydgate or Chaucer or Piers Plowman. Still less is it the English of his own day, but in general it presents no difficulty to one tolerably versed in our older literature, and it is so exquisitely modulated and fitted to the thought that it sets the standard of poetic diction for two centuries.

As for the poem itself, it is of course a succession of episodic romances in verse, somewhat after the fashion of the Arthurian romances that put a knight at the service of a distressed or capricious damsel, to perform at her behest numberless feats that appear impossible. Spenser in a sense systematizes the unorganized types of earlier romance by making a knight represent a particular virtue, such as holiness or temperance or courtesy. Each romance in the series takes its place in an elaborate allegory which the poet manages with remarkable skill. A good part of the machinery of the poem is obviously suggested by well-known medieval material.

Arthurian romance, particularly as represented by Malory's *Morte Darthur*, holds perhaps the foremost place in the poet's thought, though magic elements like those in *Huon of Bordeaux* constantly reappear, and Ariosto and Tasso furnish more than one hint. Almost the entire range of medieval romance comes before our eyes as we read the *Faery Queene*. There is the knight in armour and his richly caparisoned horse; the castle with its towers and gorgeous halls; the combat against false knights; the victory over a monstrous beast. At every turn we meet evidence of complete saturation in the romantic life of the Middle Ages, along with the passionate zeal for religion that marks the crusader, but a religion more pure and undefiled and free from superstition. In reading Spenser we sometimes fail to realize, I think, that the poet in making his knights combat Duessa and Archimago is assailing the very church which is inextricably bound up in the chivalric order. Spenser might perhaps urge that for the church itself he has only affection and reverence, that his sole aim is to cleanse it from corruption. In any case, the more one considers the problem that Spenser had to solve, the more one must admire the skill with which he makes his knights typify the saving grace of his own Protestant religion while at the same time they are in Faery Land in the age of the Catholic crusades.

But there is one striking omission in the *Faery Queene*—monks and monasteries are practically ignored. Now every reader of the romances knows how indispensable a feature of the older life monks and monasteries are; how constantly the knight finds his way to a monastery as he would to a castle, assured that he will there find free-handed hospitality. But in England the monasteries had been put aside as evil things for more than half a century, and a monk was become an accursed creature. Whether Spenser hesitated to bring his spiritual heroes into close relation with monastic establishments—a scruple that apparently caused the dramatists no searching of heart—the fact is that the poet makes practically no use of one of the greatest and most pervasive institutions of the Middle Ages. At most he introduces an occasional hermit—the first one a repulsive hypocrite; the last, a gracious, kindly man, who, in his little house,

‘Deckt with greene boughes and flowers gay beseene,’

entertains passing knights 'with entire affection and appearance plaine'. Of the same type is the good old hermit who in his humble abode receives Lancelot and Tristram for the night, just before the great tournament described in *Chinon*.¹

III

ARTHURIAN STORY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

WE now turn to a closer examination of the Arthurian literature surviving in the sixteenth century, and we may well begin by noting what place Arthurian tradition holds in the chronicles, and then pass to consider the romances and other pieces that used the same material with greater freedom. For several centuries before Elizabeth came to the throne the legend of Arthur had been dignified by being adopted into ambitious historical works and had won a large place in popular esteem. For the most part the story rested ultimately upon the authority of Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth, but many fantastic details had crept in that had no basis in the ancient chronicles or in genuine folk-lore tradition. Yet it is to be noted that with a growing historical and critical sense there was increasing distrust of the magical and supernatural features of the Arthurian story. Such matters were felt to belong to romance rather than to history.

It is needless to repeat here at length what has been admirably presented in a detailed study,² but at least an enumeration of the quasi-historical works dealing with Arthur, along with a word or two of comment, is indispensable.

We may well begin with Higden's *Polychronicon*. This is a stupendous work for its time, and it naturally gathers up most of what was to be found about Arthur in Geoffrey's *Historia* and his successors, who need not be exploited here. Fortunately for his fame Higden found a spirited translator in John de Trevisa, whose English version, somewhat revised, was printed by Caxton in 1482, by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495 (?), and by Peter Treveris in 1527.³

John Capgrave's (1393-1464) *Nova Legenda Angliae* gives very

¹ See Chapter III of the romance.

² See R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, (Harvard) *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. x.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. Trevisa.

scant space to Arthur, in fact, as Fletcher remarks, 'only a single summary sentence', but he briefly recounts later the alleged discovery of the body of the king at Glastonbury. A translation of Capgrave's work in abridged form was brought out in 1516 by Pynson and, unabridged, by Wynkyn de Worde in the same year.¹

John Hardyng's *Chronicle*, about 1436, draws heavily upon material that goes back to Geoffrey of Monmouth, though the author appears to have used some form of the Arthurian story as found in the *Brut*. To this he added an extended account of the Holy Grail, bringing in also Arthur and the knights of the Round Table.² In January, 1543, two editions of Hardyng's *Chronicle* were printed by Richard Grafton,³ and his narrative, much coloured by the romances, was thus made accessible to the reading public.

More critical than his predecessors is Robert Fabyan, whose *New Chronicles of England and France*,⁴ written about eight years after Caxton had printed Malory's *Morte Darthur*, was published in 1516. He rejects as unhistorical the magical elements in Geoffrey's account, and thus adopts the new historical criticism which grew out of the Revival of Learning. But nevertheless he includes the traditional Arthurian story, though taking evident pride in showing that he regards much of it as fabulous.

In general harmony with Fabyan's account of Arthur's exploits is John Rastell's *Pastyme of the People, or the Chronicles of Divers Realms, and most especially of the Realm of England*.⁵ But Rastell has no very decided convictions as to the trustworthiness of Arthurian tradition, and he presents the story without vouching for its truth.

The growing tendency to doubt the historicity of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*⁶ especially appears in Polydore Vergil's (1470-1555) *Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI*,⁷ which greatly

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. *Capgrave*.

² See Fletcher, op. cit., p. 251.

³ 'Curiously enough, Grafton's editions themselves differ considerably the one from the other', and they were sharply criticized by Stow in 1570. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. *Richard Grafton*.

⁴ Ed. Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1811.

⁵ London, 1530.

⁶ On this matter of the trustworthiness of Geoffrey, see an interesting discussion in Edward Bolton's *Hypercritica* (1618?), sect. v-viii, edited by Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, i, 85-91.

⁷ The first edition appeared at Basel in 1534, folio.

stirred the wrath of conservatives like Stow and Price and Leland. Polydore is entirely in accord with modern scholarship in rejecting the questionable details of the Arthurian story, but in the sixteenth century he had to encounter great opposition.

The most valiant defender of the historical existence of King Arthur against the temperate scepticism of Polydore Vergil is the antiquary John Leland.¹ To defend Geoffrey of Monmouth he wrote a tract entitled *Codrus sive Laus et Defensio Gallofridi Arturii Monumelensis*.² But his most ambitious work of the sort is the *Assertio inelytissimi Arturii, regis Britanniae*, 1544. This gathers up every shred of evidence for Arthur's existence that Leland could find, and presents it with a violence that seems to foreshadow the insanity which overtook him in 1547 and ended only with his death in 1552. We may well smile at some of his proofs,³ but we must not overlook the fact that they doubtless appeared conclusive to the average sixteenth-century reader.

We cannot afford space to present all the late chroniclers who retell the story of Arthur, and it is the less necessary since in general their accounts are substantially the same despite minor variations. But the great production of Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*,⁴ is too important to be omitted. The enormous scale of the work, based upon the ambitious plans of the printer and publisher Reginald Wolfe (d. 1573) made necessary the assistance of various helpers, such as John Hooker, Richard Stanihurst, and, notably, William Harrison, who wrote the famous description of Elizabethan England. Shakespeare's free use of Holinshed is too well known for comment. But of no little interest is the chronicler's version of the Arthurian legends, modified in an unusual way by Scottish traditions.⁵ Holinshed hesitates to put implicit faith in Geoffrey, and in general he endeavours to balance his authorities. Space forbids the discussion of details, but the reader will be rewarded who

¹ Leyland or Laylande, 1506 (?)–1552.

² Published by Thomas Hearne in his *Collectanea*, Oxford, 1715. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it is 'not known to have been printed previously'.

³ These proofs it is interesting to compare with those offered by Caxton in his famous preface to Malory's *Morte Darthur* in 1485.

⁴ London, 1577, 2nd ed., 1587.

⁵ See Fletcher's comments, *op. cit.*, pp. 267 ff.

compares Geoffrey's account with Holinshed's. The Elizabethan chronicler is no longer content to follow trustfully the genial historical romancer of the twelfth century and he vigorously slashes the improbable details.

Possibly Holinshed's attitude may have stimulated Richard Robinson in 1582 to put forth his English version of Leland's *Assertio*, which had appeared thirty-eight years before. Robinson's translation was published under the title: *A Learned and True Affertion of the original Life, Actes, and death of the most Noble, Valiant, and Renoumed Prince Arthure, King of Greate Brittain.*

In the following year he brought out a very singular little production which affords a striking proof of the vitality in the late sixteenth century of Arthurian tradition in everyday life. The pamphlet, it is hardly more, bears the title: *The Ancient Order, Societie and Vnitie Laudable of Prince Arthur and his knightly Armorie of the Round Table; with a Threefold Affertion, frendly in fauour and furtherance of English Archery at this day. Translated and collected by R. R. Psal. 133, vers. 1 & vers. 4. London: Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, dwelling in Dislaffe Lane, neere the signe of the Castle, 1583.*

The members of this society had conceived the idea of assuming the names of various knights of Arthur's Round Table. In Robinson's little book, after the dedication, is a brief outline of heraldry followed by a display of escutcheons. The name of an Arthurian knight appears above each escutcheon—fifty-eight in all—and in most cases the initials of a member of the society at the right and the left. Below are two stanzas of four lines each, the first stanza descriptive of the device, the second, complimentary.

The last production of the chronicle class to be noted before the publication of the romance of *Chinon* in 1597 is William Warner's *Albion's England*, the first portion of which, in four books, appeared in 1586. This quasi-historical, quasi-poetical work, though extravagantly lauded by contemporaries, is singularly jejune and almost entirely devoid of romantic detail. To a modern reader it makes no appeal whatever. The author carefully excludes supernatural features from the story of Arthur, and among them the account of the magic boat, so exquisitely described in Layamon and Malory, which conveys Arthur to Avalon.

Michael Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 1613, which with surprising skill

narrates the legends associated with various parts of England, briefly touches outstanding features of Arthurian tradition, but it properly lies beyond the range of this brief survey.

With this we conclude our enumeration of works dealing seriously with Arthur as an important historical figure. But before we pass to the actual Arthurian literature surviving or newly produced in the sixteenth century, we may observe that scattered throughout England and Scotland were many localities traditionally associated with Arthur and his knights. Most of these are enumerated in the interesting paper on Arthurian Localities by J. S. Stuart Glennie, prefixed to Part III of the prose romance of *Merlin* printed by the Early English Text Society in 1869. Nothing but an active popular belief, we may safely assume, could have kept alive in the sixteenth century, to say nothing of our own time, all these widely scattered names perpetuating the memory of the great heroes of Arthurian romance. Incidentally, we may here note the well-known round table, eighteen feet in diameter, that still hangs on the wall in Winchester castle, traditionally dating from the time of King Arthur but repainted in the reign of Henry VIII, with alternate red and blue lines radiating from the centre and with the names of Arthur and his knights at the places where each was supposed to have sat.

More interesting from our point of view, however, than the material we have been reviewing is the considerable body of popular Arthurian literature, some of it old and some of it new, that found its way into print in the sixteenth century. The amount of English Arthurian literature in prose or verse unquestionably never equalled the amount in French literature, from which indeed the greater part was translated or adapted. And some of the best of the old verse romances, such as the fourteenth-century alliterative *Morte Arthure*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and the exquisite story of Elaine in *Le Morte Arthur*,¹ to say nothing of Layamon's *Brut*, were quite certainly not read in the sixteenth century, though the manuscripts may have been occasionally looked at as interesting curiosities. But in estimating what had really survived we must carefully note the Arthurian romances in prose and verse that had

¹ Preserved in Harleian MS. 2252. No printed edition is known before that of Furnivall in 1864.

the good fortune to be printed. Even here we have difficulty in determining conclusively whether certain pieces were actually printed, as were, for example, the originals of some of the poems preserved in the Percy Folio MS. We can easily see how short pieces printed on one or two unbound sheets might be worn to rags by their very popularity and ultimately disappear, were it not for the happy accident that some one thought to copy them, as did the unknown scribe who brought together the miscellaneous collection in the Percy manuscript. In the process of transmission the language almost inevitably suffered, since obsolete words were ruthlessly dropped and more intelligible though less expressive modern terms substituted.

Turning now to the surviving material in prose and verse, we naturally begin with Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*, unquestionably the outstanding masterpiece of Arthurian prose romance and the only one that still remains popular. First printed in folio by Caxton in 1485, it was reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498, and by his successors in 1529, in 1557, and in 1585, each time in folio; then again in 1585, in quarto. A new edition appeared in 1634, and this supplied the demand of the reading public until 1816, when a new edition was called for.¹ Malory's romance divided the honours with Lord Berners's English version of *Huon of Bordeaux*, the great repository of adventure and fairy lore which, along with Lord Berners's *Arthur*² of *Little Britain*, provided some of the material, and in a sense prepared readers, for Spenser's *Faery Queene*.

So great was the fame of Arthur and the popularity of Malory's romance in the second half of the sixteenth century, three generations after the first printing, that that sturdy moralist Roger Ascham feels constrained to break out in a protest so well known that I hesitate to quote it once more, but I hardly venture to omit it. After severely condemning the books and the morals of Italy, he goes on to say:

'In our forefather's tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our

¹ I cannot here enumerate the many modern editions, and I note merely Sommer's exact reprint of Caxton's edition, with Introduction and Studies on the sources, vol. i, 1889; ii, 1890; iii, 1891.

² Needless to remark, this Arthur has nothing in common with King Arthur besides the name.

tong, sauynge certayne bookes Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, *Morte Arthure*: the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye: In which booke those be counted the noblest Knightes that do kill most men without any quarrell, and commit fowlest aduoulter[i]es by sutlest shiftes: as Sir *Launcelot* with the wife of king *Arthure* his master: Syr *Tristram* with the wife of king *Marke* his vnclē: Syr *Lamerocke* with the wife of king *Lote*, that was his owne aunte. This is good stuffe, for wise men to laugh at, or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I know, when Gods Bible was banished the Court, and *Morte Arthure* receiued into the Princes chamber. What toyes, the dayly reading of such a booke may worke in the will of a yong ientleman or a yong mayde, that liueth welthily and idelie, wise men can iudge, and honest men do pitie. And yet ten *Morte Arthures* do not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these books, made in Italie and translated in England.¹

It is at least possible that the *Morte Darthur* suggested some of the characters that played a part in the festivities at Kenilworth for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth in 1575, only five years after Ascham's complaint that the book was too much read. In *The Princelye Pleasures at the Courte at Kenelworth . . . in the Yeare 1575*² we find (pp. 2, 3) verses recited by the 'Ladie of the Lake', who had lived in the Lake 'since the time of great King Arthure's reigne'. On pp. 8-10 we learn that the Lady had been compelled to remain in the Lake by 'Sir Bruse, sauns pittie, in revenge of his cosen Merlyne the Prophet, whom for his inordinate lust she had inclosed in a Rocke'. No such relationship is hinted at in the *Morte Darthur*, and no exploit exactly like this is assigned to Breuse saunce pyte, who is, nevertheless, frequently mentioned. Breuse is credited with several villainous performances in the *Morte Darthur*, such as following a lady to slay her (p. 397, Sommer's reprint) and killing a lady's brother and keeping her at

¹ *The Scolmaster* (1570), p. 80, Arber's reprint. Ascham had used some of the same phrases, yet without naming the *Morte Darthur*, in the preface to his *Toxophilus*, 1545, Arber's reprint, p. 19.

² London, 1576; reprinted London, 1821. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, with interesting comments, for the Ballad Society, 1871. This latter is the edition here cited.

his own will (p. 407). He may, therefore, have seemed to be a suitable character to be pressed into such service as was desired at the festivities. Literal reproduction of the Arthurian legends was not aimed at, for novelty was the chief feature of the whole entertainment; but the romantic motives and the names were as likely to have been suggested by the *Morte Darthur* as by any Arthurian literature that has come down to us.¹

In the well-known letter of Robert Laneham describing these festivities appears a remarkable list of the romances in the library of Captain Cox of Coventry, who marched in the procession. Noting only those of immediate interest to us, we find the writer remarking that 'az for King Arthurz book, Huon of Bordeaux, . . . Beuys of Hampton . . . Sir Trymoour, Sir Lamwell . . . Syr Gawyn . . . with many moe then I rehearz héere : I beléeue he haue them all at hiz fingers endz'.² To men of this type we doubtless owe the preservation of many of the pieces in the Percy Folio MS. and of the ballads in Child's great collection.

Very different in spirit is the sour-tempered Nashe, who in 1589 bursts out abusively against 'the fantasticall dreames of those exiled Abbie-lubbers, from whose idle pens proceeded those worne out impressions of the feyned no where acts of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of litle Brittain, Sir Tristram, Hewon of Burdeux, the Squire of low degré, the foure sons of Amon, with infinite others.'³

Besides Malory's great romance, which is in a sense a library of Arthurian literature, there is in the aggregate a very considerable body of pieces in prose and verse⁴ that claimed the attention of readers in the sixteenth century and to some extent in the seventeenth. To continue with those productions that make Arthur the central figure, we have at least three pieces in verse, preserved in

¹ This paragraph is borrowed from the introduction to my *Selections from Malory's Morte Darthur*, pp. xl, xli.

² Laneham's Letter was edited by Furnivall for the Ballad Society, 1871, vii, 29, 30.

³ *Anatomie of Absurditie*, ed. Grosart, i, 14.

⁴ As an indication of what has been lost we may note the entry in the Stationers' Registers, 22 July, 1565—22 July, 1566: 'Receved of Richard Jonnes for his lycense for prynting of [a] ballet intituled a pleasaunte history of an adventurus knyghte of kynges ARTHUR's Courte. . . . iiii^d'.

the Percy Folio MS., that beyond question are much older than the date of that manuscript (c. 1650) and most likely belong to the sixteenth century, if not earlier. The end of that century is the probable date suggested by Sir Frederick Madden for the ballad of *King Arthur and the King of Cornwall*,¹ a fragment of 301 lines offering singular parallels to the old French romance of *Charlemagne's Journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople*² and showing acquaintance, in the incident of the beheading of the King of Cornwall, with material such as we find in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

Of considerable interest is the picturesque ballad of *The Boy and the Mantle*, with its gleeful exposure of pretended virtue.³ In variant form, both in this piece and in numerous analogues, the test is made by means of an enchanted horn from which no faithless wife or cuckold husband can drink without spilling. The sources of the story are some three or four centuries earlier than the ballad, of which no early print is known. Nothing in the contents, the form, or the diction points to the seventeenth century as the time when this piece was composed, and the lilt and the tone appear to indicate a date at least as early as the sixteenth century.

As for the very prosaic ballad entitled *King Arthur's Death*,⁴ it evidently consists of two pieces loosely joined together, the first running to l. 96, and the second to l. 251. For its material it evidently draws upon the well-known chronicles and the romances, though too vaguely to enable us to identify the sources. There is nothing to show that this too may not be a sixteenth-century production, but little is gained by deciding the matter one way or the other. Malory's prose is infinitely more picturesque than the hobbling lines of this ballad, which proves nothing concerning the actual popularity of Arthur, except perhaps that his fame must have been great to float such verse as this.

In late prose romance the only new production in the Arthurian field after *Chinon of England* is *Tom a Lincolne*, a fantastic per-

¹ *Percy's Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, i, 61 ff.

² See Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*, i, 274-83, and also *Englische Studien*, xxxvi (1906), 337.

³ *Percy's Folio MS.*, ii, 304-11. Cf. *Le Mantel Mantaillé* in Montaiglon et Raynaud, *Recueil Général des Fabliaux*, iii, 1 ff., and Child's comments on No. 29 of the *English and Scottish Ballads*.

⁴ *Percy's Folio MS.*, i, 498 ff.

formance in euphuistic style by the well-known Richard Johnson. This 'was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1607,'¹ though the seventh edition (1635), which is in the British Museum, is the earliest known to be extant'.² Like all of Johnson's romances, it is full of startling adventures which cannot be presented here in detail.

Part I

Tom is the son of King Arthur by an amour with Angelica, the Earl of London's daughter, with whom the king long keeps up relations. Tom is entrusted to a shepherd to be reared, but as he grows older he leaves his sheep, organizes his young companions as a band of outlaws, and assumes the title of the Red Rose Knight. King Arthur begins to hear of Tom's exploits and sends 'three of his approved Knights, namely, Lancelot du Lake, Sir Tristram (*sic*), and Sir Triamore'³ to induce him to come to court. Here he is royally received and made a knight of the Round Table. Immediately thereupon, commissioned by Arthur, he leads a punitive expedition to Portugal, wins there a great victory, and brings back enormous booty. The English warriors on their return give themselves up to inglorious ease, but Tom a Lincolne begs leave to go abroad for more adventures, and setting out with Lancelot and a hundred knights is driven by a storm to Fairy Land, an island occupied only by women. Needless to say, during their four months on the island both Tom a Lincolne and the hundred knights win the favour of Celia the Fairy Queen and of the ladies of her court, so that there is no longer fear that the island will be depopulated. At length, however, realizing that they cannot remain longer inactive, Tom and his knights take leave of the sorrowing ladies and sail away in search of more adventures.

¹ In the romance (Part I, Chapter II) Tom a Lincolne is said to have bestowed the bell known as Great Tom upon the city. Doubtless the hero owes his name to the famous bell, which far antedates the romance and has been twice recast, once in 1611 and again in 1834. See A. F. Kendrick, *The Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, London, 1899, pp. 62-4.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*, article *Richard Johnson*. The romance was reprinted by Thoms, *Early Prose Romances*, 3 vols., 1827, 1829. A second edition, revised, not by Thoms, appeared in 1858. In this edition the romance appears in vol. ii, pp. 219-361.

³ It is to be noted that these same knights appear also in *Chinon*, published at least ten years earlier than *Tom a Lincolne*.

Driven by favourable winds, their ship at last comes to the land of Prester John, who receives them hospitably and inquires much about Arthur's court. Tom a Lincolne loses his heart to the king's fair daughter Anglitora and is delighted to learn that he has only to kill the dragon that guards the golden tree to claim her for his bride. The dragon is thirty feet long, spouts flame, and has three tongues, but in the fight Tom speedily cuts off the monster's three tongues and seven feet of his tail and at last pierces his heart. Flushed with victory, Tom returns bearing on his sword the three tongues and in his hand a branch of the golden tree. He is welcomed with a great feast and then conducted to his lodging by a company of noblemen and other attendants. After their departure appears Anglitora bearing a golden basin of warm perfumed water, washes the dragon's blood from his body, and then spends the night with him as his promised bride. But when Tom sees the king and asks for the hand of his daughter he meets a curt refusal. Anglitora, however, resolves not to give up her lover, and taking her richest jewels she accompanies him early the next morning to his ship, leaving her father disconsolate.

The ship passes the Fairy Island where Queen Celia with her infant son is eagerly awaiting Tom's return, but contrary winds prevent a landing and the hopeless queen throws herself into the sea. Borne by the waves past the English ship, her attire of cloth of gold catches the eye of the Red Rose Knight. He takes her body up into the ship and reads the pitiful letter which is her last message to him. Anglitora also reads the letter and requests that the body be taken to England for burial. This is done. On arrival at Arthur's court the Red Rose Knight and Anglitora are solemnly married and live long and happily in Arthur's court.

Part II

The remainder of the romance may be briefly summarized. When Arthur comes to die he reveals his amour with Angelica. This confession enrages his queen and shames Angelica, who has long been a nun at Lincoln. Tom a Lincolne's wife Anglitora is angered that she has married a bastard and without delay she sets out with her son the Black Knight for the land of Prester John, her father. Tom in his turn also leaves England. Meanwhile Arthur's widowed queen causes Angelica to be put to death and shortly

thereafter hangs herself from remorse. Anglitora and her son, attended by a black slave, cross the sea and arrive at a castle, where with indecent haste she becomes the mistress of the castellan and for seven years lives with him. Late in the afternoon of the very day when Anglitora and the Black Knight arrive at the castle the latter sallies forth to hunt. By mischance he loses himself in the thick forest, and though he searches day by day he is unable to find his way back to the castle. In the wood he remains seven years as a wild man.

When Anglitora becomes the mistress of the castellan her blackamoor slave, horrified at her infidelity, determines to seek his former master. By a miraculous chance, not uncommon in Richard Johnson's romances, it happens that, after seven years of fruitless search by the faithful black, the ship upon which Tom a Lincolne has been drifting floats to the very place where the slave is. Conducted by him, the Red Rose Knight Tom, disguised as a palmer, makes his way to the castle, but he is recognized and killed and the slave is fastened in the earth to die. Then appears one day to the Black Knight the ghost of his murdered father calling for vengeance. Without delay the Black Knight sets out for the castle, finds the negro slave half-starved in the earth, and under his guidance penetrates to the chamber where Anglitora and her paramour are sleeping. He kills them both and then raves madly because he has slain his mother. He afterwards kills the Dwarf of the Castle and buries him in the same grave with the negro slave, who dies soon after he is taken out of the earth where he has been fixed. Then the Black Knight digs up the body of his father, buries it with that of his mother in one grave and for three days remains there kneeling and pouring out his laments. While he is sleeping upon the grave the Fairy Knight, son of Queen Celia and Tom a Lincolne, who has also taken to wandering, finds him and awakens him. The two knights soon discover that they are brothers and henceforth they are inseparable. After various adventures they make their way to England, where the king receives them with the greatest honour and holds feasts and jousts for forty days. Then the two knights proceed to Lincoln, where they build a sumptuous minster and a stately tomb in memory of their parents and spend their remaining days in good works.

This romance exhibits many of the familiar traits of Richard

Johnson's productions and, in particular, his fondness for far-fetched and impossible adventures with abundant supernatural motives. His wide reading in the field of medieval romance is obvious at every turn, and he makes the most of his knowledge in developing his situations. In no sense is it very original, though it is measurably readable, if one's mood is not too exigent.

If we now turn to the drama, we find that for some reason Arthurian themes made comparatively small appeal to the dramatists of the Elizabethan time, and, although in various plays allusions to Arthurian characters occur,¹ Arthurian plays themselves are singularly few.² This is the more remarkable when one considers the dramatic possibilities, for example, of a tragedy on such a theme as the relations between Lancelot and Guinevere.

Of plays based upon the Arthurian tradition the only one actually surviving is Thomas Hughes's tragedy, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*,³ 1588. This formed part of an ambitious and costly entertainment consisting of allegorical dumb-shows—in which even Francis Bacon had a hand—and complimentary speeches in the fashion of the time, 'presented to her Majestie by the Gentlemen of Grayes-Inne at her Highnesse Court in Greenewich, the twenty-eighth day of Februarie in the thirtieth yeare of her Majesties most happy Raigne'.

Hughes drew mainly upon Geoffrey of Monmouth for his characters,⁴ introducing among others Cador, who in our romance

¹ Note, for instance, in Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ii, 3, 9, where Dame Quickly says of Falstaff, 'He's in Arthur's bosom, if ever man went to Arthur's bosom'; *Lear*, iii, 2, 95, where the Fool says, 'This prophecy Marlin shall make; for I live before his time'; ² *Henry IV*, iii, 2, 300, where Shallow says, 'I was then Sir Dagonet in Arthur's show.' This 'show' was mainly an exhibition of archery by men from the city who took the names of Arthurian knights. Cf. p. xxviii.

³ In Henslowe's Diary, 11, 12 April, and 2 May 1598, a play by Hathway on *The Life and Death of Arthur King of England* is mentioned, but is otherwise not known; and on 29 April, 1597, is noted the name of a play entitled *Uter Pendragon*, the father of Arthur. This also is lost. Not impossibly 'the playe of Valteger', mentioned in Henslowe's Diary 'the 28 of November 1596', may have to do with Vortigern. The play was several times acted, but it has not been preserved. Under date of 13 October, 1599, Henslowe notes the Booke of Trystram de Lyons, which may have been a play.

⁴ Edited, with introduction, by H. C. Grumbine, Berlin, 1900.

⁵ Although Hughes is the chief author, he appears to have been more or less

is the father of Chinon. But he could hardly escape knowing Malory's *Morte Darthur*, which was famous beyond all other romances in the sixteenth century, and probably to Malory he owed certain details in the forms of proper names, 'the incestuous birth of Mordred, and the slaughter of Arthur and Mordred by each other's hands'.¹ The obvious debt of Hughes to Seneca,² the favourite model of the earlier English tragedians, is pointed out in some detail by critics of the play.¹ For modern taste the horrors in this play are somewhat too liberally presented, and probably few but professional students of literature now turn its pages, but simple justice compels us to admit that it has more than one passage of considerable power. When all is said, however, we must agree that the play belongs rather to the closet than to the stage.

Next to Arthur rightly stands Merlin, the enchanter and prophet, who enjoyed great renown throughout the Middle Ages and even long after the reign of Elizabeth. It is to be noted,³ however, that the English versions of the vast French prose romance of *Merlin* appear to have been little known, if at all, in the sixteenth century³; but the fame of the ancient sage and magician was kept alive by popular tradition, by short pieces printed by Wynkyn de Worde and by John Hawkins, all before 1533,⁴ by a *Life* written by Simon Forman, the astrologer and quack doctor (1552-1611), and, above all, by the repeated printing of Malory's *Morte Darthur*. Quite possibly to the sixteenth century belongs the prosaic verse romance of *Merline*,⁵ 2378 lines. This parallels the fifteenth-century English prose *Merlin*⁶ up to the death of Uther Pendragon and presents a somewhat modernized text of the early fifteenth-century manuscript of a verse *Merlin*

aided in the planning and the composition of his play. See Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, 1558-1640, i, 265.

¹ Cunliffe, in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v, 87-9.

² Seneca, *His Tenne Tragedies translated into English* appeared in 1581. Translations of single plays were printed earlier.

³ Such, for example, as the fourteenth-century verse *Merlin* edited by Kölbing, *Altenglische Bibliothek*, iv, 1890; the fifteenth-century prose *Merlin*, E.E.T.S., and Louelich's metrical version of the prose, E.E.T.S.

⁴ See my account of the Merlin legend, published by the E.E.T.S. (1899), pp. lxxii ff.

⁵ *Percy's Folio MS.*, i, 422-96.

⁶ E.E.T.S., p. 57, line 1.

preserved in the library of Lincoln's Inn (MS. 150). But no sixteenth-century printed text of this version has come down to us, and if the piece was widely known it left at all events no marked impression.

The chroniclers dealing with Arthur necessarily give more or less space to Merlin, and although their endeavour to narrate sober history leads them to suppress some of the marvels exploited by the romancers, 'it is to be remembered', says Schelling,¹ 'that Grafton, Holinshed, and Stow, sober historians that they were, accepted most of these tales as of equal authenticity with the history of Edward the Black Prince or Henry V himself'.

Edmund Spenser, greatest of the Elizabethan poets, shows in various passages of the *Faery Queene*² that he is saturated with the Merlin tradition. And in a famous canto he tells of the wall of brass³ with which Merlin began to surround the City of Carmarthen just before he was lured to his tomb in the rock by the wiles of the fair temptress. But necessarily the plan of the *Faery Queene* precluded the use of anything beyond an occasional bit of the voluminous Merlin romance.

We must not overlook the fact that Merlin's fame, particularly as a prophet, increased in the seventeenth century and that his name was freely used by almanac makers and exploiters of dubious predictions, but these productions we cannot enumerate here.⁴

One notable work, however, deserves our attention, William Rowley's vigorous and entertaining play, *The Birth of Merlin: Or, The Childe hath found his Father*.⁵ By some critics this piece has been dated as early as 1597, but the suggestion made by Daniel, accepted by Fleay and pushed to a conclusion by Howe,⁶ that Rowley's *Merlin* owes much to Thomas Middleton's play, *The*

¹ *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, i, 298.

² Bk. I, canto 9, st. 4, 5; II, canto 8, st. 20; III, canto 2, st. 18, 21.

³ Bk. III, canto 3, st. 6 ff. This is, of course, Spenser's own invention.

⁴ See Mead, *Outlines of the Legend of Merlin* (E.E.T.S.), pp. lxxiv ff.

⁵ First printed in 1662 as the joint production of William Rowley and William Shakespeare! Edited, K. Warnke and L. Proescholt, *Pseudo-Shakespearean Plays*, 5 vols., Halle, 1883-8; also T. E. Jacob, *Old English Dramas*, 1889. It is needless to observe that the association of Shakespeare's name with this piece is nothing but a clever trick of advertising by the first publisher in 1662.

⁶ *Modern Philology*, iv, 193-205.

Mayor of Queenborough, makes this date more than doubtful.¹ Fortunately for our purpose, the exact date is not of prime importance. The interesting and suggestive fact is that the tale which was already ancient when Geoffrey of Monmouth took it up should still in the seventeenth century have retained its vitality and served as a nucleus for a dramatic work of much more than ordinary merit.

Sir Lancelot does not belong to the original group of Arthurian characters and finds no place in Nennius or Geoffrey, but he rapidly forges to the front in Arthurian romance until he is second to none. In *Chinon*, although he is not the nominal hero, he is in a sense the dominant character. But in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English literature in general he suffers great neglect. He holds indeed the foremost place among the knights in the ever popular *Morte Darthur*, but otherwise he almost drops out of sight. In *The Fall of Princes*,² a prosaic poem of ninety-six lines that perhaps borrowed the title from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, the author asks—

'Where is King Arthur the venturer, with his Knights bold?
or Sir Tristeram, that treasure of curtesye?
or Sir Gawaine the good, with his helmett made of gold?
or Sir Lancelott dulake, a Knight of Chivalrye?' ll. 73-6;

and although this sort of question was already a well-known formula long before this doggerel was written, we cannot doubt that all the heroes here named were felt to belong to an age far different from the sixteenth century.

The Scottish romance of *Lancelot of the Laik*, dating from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, is 'a translation of a portion of the great French prose romance of "Lancelot du Lac", a portion consisting of from five to seven chapters of the printed versions,

¹ Professor C. H. Herford in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that 'Middleton's connection with the stage cannot be shown before 1599', and it would not be easy to prove that *The Mayor* was Middleton's earliest work. But see Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, i, 296, who accepts 1596 as the date of Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough*.

² *Percy's Folio MS.*, iii, 169-73. Percy infers from the last stanza that 'this song should seem to have been wrote soon after the Death of Henry 8'. Quoted, iii, 168.

according to the edition. It is the only version in our language which treats of the first "Lancelot", of which Malory seems to have had no knowledge, he ignores it so completely. The translation deals with the wars between Arthur and Galiot, Lancelot's prowess therein, and his devotion to Guinevere'.¹ But this mediocre Scottish romance was certainly not known to many English readers, if to any, and the modern reader familiar with Malory will wonder why the versifier could imagine that there would be any demand for his own production.

Hardly worth mention is the dull and fragmentary ballad of sixty lines written late in the reign of Elizabeth, possibly by Thomas Deloney, describing Lancelot's fight with Sir Tarquin as narrated by Malory.² The ballad appears in the Percy Manuscript.³ With some variations, Falstaff repeats the first two lines in *2 Henry IV*, ii, 3, and, as the editors of the ballad note,⁴ 'it is quoted in Marston's *Malcontent* and Fletcher's *Little French Lawyer*'.

Elsewhere in the Percy Manuscript⁵ a *Laudation of Olde Times Paste* assures us that

'no man did greater matters then than Lancelot of Du Lake'.

ll. 3, 4.

But times have changed :

'rich men, alas they know not how
to keepe ne hawke nor hound.
all merriments are quite fforgott,
& bowes are laid aside.'

ll. 55-8.

And here we leave the greatest of the knights of the Round Table, who remains in unmerited obscurity until the coming of Romanticism restores him in part to his wonted pre-eminence.

Gawain fares better than Lancelot. The popularity of the group of romances associated with the name of Gawain, whose early reputation suffers so disastrously in Malory's pages, is attested by the fact that some half-dozen of these romances still survived when the romance of *Chinon* was written, and in them all Gawain is the gracious embodiment of courtesy that we find in *Gawain and the*

¹ Margaret M. Gray, Scottish Text Society (1912), p. xiii.

² *Morte Darthur*, vi, chs. 2, 7, 8, 9. In Malory, Lancelot's antagonist is Sir Turquyne.

³ *Percy's Folio MS.*, i, 84.

⁴ i, 84-7.

⁵ iii, 120-2.

Green Knight. These romances are naturally of varying merit and in some cases show a sad falling off from an earlier version. Strikingly true is this of *The Grene Knight*,¹ which modernizes, abridges, and strangely mutilates the story told in the exquisite old romance. The mysterious glamour of the early fourteenth-century version is dimmed by trivial and prosaic details. So eager is the narrator to tell all he knows that he cannot keep the reader in suspense but, for example, explains at once that the castle at which Gawain arrives in his fateful journey is the home of the Green Knight whom he is seeking. The original version contains 2530 lines: the modernized version has but 516. How late this version is we cannot precisely say. Possibly it may belong to the fifteenth century, but we have it only in the Percy Manuscript. In the old romance the knights of the Round Table wear a green belt in honour of Gawain's exploit (l. 2516 f.). In the Percy version this belt, as the author tells us, explains

‘why Knights of the bathe weare the lace
vntill they haue wonen their shoen’. ll. 503-4.

Undoubtedly the modernizer found himself quite unequal to reproducing in language of his own day the extremely rich and varied phraseology of the old version, and he produced a bald and spiritless abstract, typical of only too much of late medieval romance.

The Turke and Gowin, which belongs to the fifteenth century and reappears in the Percy Manuscript,² has come to us in a fragmentary state, though 337 verses have survived. In this romance, which at the beginning reminds us of *Gawain and the Green Knight*, a burly Turk enters Arthur's hall while he is at meat and offers to exchange blows with any one present. As usual, Kay is discourteous while Gawain is gracious and considerate. At length Gawain departs with the Turk and arrives in the Isle of Man, where Gawain performs great feats—apparently underground—in the castle of the King of Man, who maintains a company of giants. The king and a giant even attempt to throw Gawain into a boiling cauldron, but the Turk, who wears a coat that makes him invisible, rescues Gawain and throws the king into the fire and the biggest giant into the cauldron. Then the Turk, with a basin in his hand,

¹ *Percy's Folio MS.*, ii, 58-77.

² i, 90-102.

asks Gawain to cut off his head. When Gawain reluctantly consents, the Turk is transformed into a Christian, and, in due time, at Gawain's request, is crowned King of Man with the consent of Arthur.

Golagrus and Gawain, a romance of 1362 lines in the Scottish dialect of the late fifteenth century, directly or indirectly draws its material from the French *Perceval* and is an interesting example of the group of romances that exalt the courtesy of Gawain in contrast with the crabbed surliness of Kay. Throughout the story Gawain everywhere wins his way by his gracious manner, yet without dimming his glory as a valiant knight. The romance was printed at Edinburgh in 1508.¹ There is nothing to show that the story was known in England, but since it was in print we may well believe that an occasional English reader may at least have turned its pages.²

*The Marriage of Sir Gawain*³ and the parallel tale, *The Weddyng of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell*,⁴ treat the same theme as that of Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*⁵ and have affiliations with many other romances. In some form or other this delightful though fragmentary little romance lived through the sixteenth century and thus found its way into the Percy Manuscript.

The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne,⁶ a fifteenth-century episodic romance, in part based upon a tale in Gautier de Douzens's continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*, throws light upon the origin of the hero of the better-known romance of *Libeaus Desconus*, the son of Sir Gawain. The story clearly antedates by several centuries the form in which

¹ Reprinted, Edinburgh, 1827, and in *Anglia*, ii, 395 ff.

² Another piece may be at least named. *The Avowing of King Arthur, Sir Gawen, Sir Kaye, and Sir Bawdewyn of Bretan*, a poem of 1152 lines, in seventy-two stanzas, dates from the later fourteenth century and is preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript. Gawain here again is ever courteous and is contrasted with Kay, who is forever boasting. In the sixteenth century this romance apparently slipped out of sight and was forgotten, doubtless because the language was too antique to be easily understood. My only excuse for citing it here is that it affords a good illustration of the way in which a piece of considerable merit might lose popular favour and never regain it.

³ *Percy's Folio MS.*, i, 105 ff.

⁴ Rawlinson MS., ch. 86, Bodleian Library.

⁵ For an elaborate study of the theme of this romance and its analogues, see Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901.

⁶ MS. Douce, Bodleian, 261 (1564).

we have it in the manuscript. By a lucky chance the last leaf of a black-letter edition printed by Thomas Petyt¹ has survived² and thus affords conclusive evidence that the romance was known to readers in the second third of the sixteenth century.

The connexion of *Libeaus Desconus*³ with Arthurian Romance is more or less casual, but clearly the story is more Arthurian than anything else. The hero is the son of Gawain, gotten 'under a forest side', and at the age of fourteen he goes to King Arthur, who, after vainly trying to learn his name, calls him Lybius Disconius (ll. 80), knights him, and grants him the first fight that offers. Among the characters are Gawain, Percival, Agravaine, Ewaine, all drawn from Arthurian romance. Arthur himself is mentioned every little while as the recipient of the fruits of the young hero's victories (ll. 745 ff., &c.) Of the six manuscripts of the romance all but the Percy Manuscript belong to the fifteenth century, and the Percy Manuscript version, as Kaluza forcibly argues, is probably a copy of a sixteenth-century edition. He observes⁴ that Henry Crosse mentions the 'Libbius' in *Vertues common wealth, or, The highway to honour* (1600), and Skelton, who died in 1529, does the same in the line,

'And of sir Libius named Disconius'.

The old edition of the romance is lost, but Kaluza goes on to remark that the Percy Folio version of the romance of *Sir Triamore* (who plays his part in the romance of *Chinon*) is, 'except in spelling, a literally accurate copy of Copland's edition', and that a good number of the other romances are obviously copies of old printed editions.

The interesting romance of *Syre Gawene and the Carle of Carellyle*,⁵ in 660 lines, recounts Gawain's perilous adventure in the castle of the Carl of Carlisle, who always insists upon instant and implicit obedience and who strikes down Gawain's companions Kay and Bishop Bawdewyn for a slight offence. Gawain's courtesy and scrupulous compliance with the demands of his host win the favour of the savage Carl, who finally conducts Gawain to his wife's bed

¹ Petyt's activity extended from 1536 to 1554.

² Harleian 5297, art. 32.

³ *Percy's Folio MS.*, ii, 405-97.

⁴ *Libeaus Desconus*, Leipzig, 1890, p. x.

⁵ Ed. Madden, Bannatyne Club, 1839.

and bids him kiss her. Gawain obeys and is then taken to the chamber of the Carl's lovely daughter, with whom he passes the night. Next day the three guests, with the Carl's daughter, return to Arthur's court, and Gawain weds her. Arthur makes the Carl a knight of the Round Table and also lord of the region about Carlisle.

This romance undoubtedly embodies material far older than the sixteenth century and has been by Madden derived from the fabliau *Le Chevalier a l'épee*. The English romance here summarized is probably not later than the fifteenth century, but the sixteenth-century ballad,¹ *The Carle off Carlile*, in 500 lines, is doubtless based upon it. An incident not found in the romance but a variant of the beheading motives in *Gawain and the Green Knight* and *The Turke and Gowin* appears at the end of the ballad. When Gawain is about to leave his host he is taken to a room hung about with swords and bidden to strike off the Carl's head. After some hesitation Gawain obeys and to his astonishment sees the Carl, who for forty years has been forty cubits high, now released from his enchantment and restored to the stature of an ordinary man. No one but a knight of the Round Table could work the transformation.

Although, strictly speaking, the story of Tristram and Iseult is for the most part independent of the cycle of Arthur² it was in the course of time drawn into the group of Round Table romances, since great heroes like Arthur and Tristram could hardly be supposed to have lived in the same country without occasional association. But for some reason the Tristram story had no great vogue in early English literature, and it is represented only by the thirteenth-century verse romance, and by a large fragment of the prose romance in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, reproducing somewhat more than half of the French original. In the sixteenth century the verse romance had long since been forgotten and nothing remained but the version in Malory, perhaps the least satisfactory portion of the *Morte Darthur*. In view of the toughness of

¹ *Percy's Folio MS.*, iii, 272-94.

² Some traces of early connexion with Arthurian material appear in the Welsh Triads, in the Mabinogion, and in Englynion. See McNeill's introduction to *Sir Tristrem*, Scottish Text Society, pp. xiv, xv.

popular tradition, it would, however, be surprising if the Tristram story had passed out of memory, since, as Schofield remarks,¹ 'there was no one in the Middle Ages in western Europe who did not know it in some form'; and it appeared in the sixteenth century in various literatures of the Continent—Spain (1528), Italy (1555), Denmark, Germany (Hans Sachs, 1553), again in Italy in 1588, and so on.

Romances based upon the legend of the Holy Grail are not strictly Arthurian, but in course of time they are inevitably drawn into the cycle of the Round Table. Of the English pieces in prose or verse recounting the legend of Joseph of Arimathea—none of them significant as literature—several were printed before 1521. But after that date, except for the version of the Quest of the Grail incorporated in the *Morte Darthur*, the Grail story drops out of sight. The explanation is not far to seek: aggressive protestantism, though it might tolerate a fantastic legend hidden away in a great romance like Malory's, was not likely to welcome, solely for their own sake, religious tales so far removed in spirit from those sanctioned by the Established Church.

With the legend of the Holy Grail we conclude our general survey of Arthurian romance in the sixteenth century and may now turn to the romance of *Chinon of England*.

IV

THE ROMANCE OF CHINON OF ENGLAND, THE ORIGINAL EDITION

IN the Stationers' Registers (ed. Arber) is entered under the year 1597 *The History of Chinon of England*, by Christopher Middleton.² This was not the first time the name had come before the public, for in Henslowe's Diary is mention of a play called *Chinone of England*, first acted 3rd January, 1595—Henslowe, the manager of the theatre, receiving fifty shillings.³ According to Henslowe's record there were in all eleven performances, the last on 10th November, 1596. After that date the play disappears, and our

¹ *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 214.

² For his other works, see the list in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ The receipts for the last four performances were respectively 9s., 52s., 17s.,

only knowledge of it is derived from Henslowe. Nothing is known of the author. That there is some relation between the play and Middleton's romance is not improbable, but to urge, as does Schelling,¹ that 'no one can question that this was a dramatized version of *The Famous History of Chinon of England* . . . by Chr. Middleton, 1597', is to go beyond the evidence. No edition of the romance is known earlier than the entry in the Stationers' Registers, 1597, and the assumption of an earlier edition is purely gratuitous. That Middleton may have had his romance in manuscript two years before he gave it to the printer is of course possible, and in that case he may have allowed some dramatist to adapt it to the stage, if indeed he did not attempt to do it himself. But beyond such conjectures we cannot go, nor can we venture (on the evidence) to argue that the romance is due to the play. In any case, however, the appearance of the two productions under the same title within the space of two years inevitably suggests various interesting possibilities.

The present edition of the romance, the only one known since 1597, is based upon the copy in the British Museum.² This comes from the library of the Earl of Jersey at Osterley Park and has his coat of arms within the front cover, with his name, Victor Albert George Child Villiers. The volume is a small quarto in black-letter, containing forty-seven leaves not numbered, but the order indicated by the signatures at the foot of the pages, D₁, D₂, D₃, &c. The printing is rather carelessly and inartistically done, and in more than one place betrays the lack of a competent typographer, a manuscript corrector, or a trustworthy proof-reader.³

V

THE STORY OF *CHINON OF ENGLAND*

Chapter I

IN the time of the famous King Arthur a noble knight named Cador is for his many merits installed in the Earldom of Cornwall. To this knight are born in his advancing years two children, a son

¹ *Elizabethan Drama*, i, 202.

² Another copy came into the market from the famous Britwell library in 1923 at Sotheby's in London.

³ See especially pp. 49-63, and 63/34.

and a daughter, both of them endowed with great beauty of body. The daughter, Laura, is as wise as she is beautiful, but her brother, Chinon, is so lacking in ordinary sense that he everywhere passes for a fool, to the great grief of his parents.

Chapter II

The fame of Laura's beauty draws to Earl Cadore's court many valiant knights, among whom are two knights of King Arthur's Round Table, Sir Lancelot du Lake and Sir Tristram du Lions, 'two wonders for their worthiness'. Amid the throng of admirers Laura is most attracted by Lancelot, and he in turn utterly loses his heart to Laura. With the hope of winning her love he resolves 'to undertake some hardie adventure', but before he departs he sends her a passionate letter in which he unreservedly offers himself to her. Without waiting to learn her answer he takes formal leave of the court, proclaiming openly why he feels compelled to leave the kingdom. With him, despite the friendly protests of Lancelot, goes also the valiant Sir Tristram.

Chapter III

Crossing the Channel to France the two knights, attended only by two pages, set out on their way. While resting beside a spring they fall in with an aged hermit, who courteously offers them entertainment and tells them that not far away is the court of King Lewis of France, and that the very next day there is to be a contest for three prizes—a rich suit of armour, a gorgeous bed, and, best of all, the king's daughter and heir, the fair Celestina. Next morning the two knights proceed on their way to the court and overtake a knight in golden armour mounted upon a stately black steed. This is the son of the 'Soldan' of Babylon, who has come as a suitor for the hand of Celestina. Another knight, all in black and occupying a sable tent, is Sir Triamore, son of the 'Duke of Brittain', who has long been the favoured lover of the princess. In the tournament that follows, the Soldan's son carries all before him and then, thinking himself invincible, arrogantly challenges all Christians to meet him in the field. This challenge Sir Lancelot boldly meets and after a terrific combat vanquishes the boaster. Second only to Lancelot in the tournament is Sir Tristram.

The great prizes of the tournament are awarded to Lancelot and, of course, among them the fair Celestina. But as Lancelot's heart is fixed upon Laura, he magnanimously bestows Celestina upon her lover, Sir Triamore, reserving the other prizes for his own lady love, and sending them to her by a trusty messenger. Lancelot's exploits lose nothing in the telling and so powerfully impress the young prince Chinon, hitherto indifferent to warlike achievement, that he suddenly begins to lament his wasted youth and persuades his astonished and delighted father to equip him as a knight and send him abroad to win a name for himself.

Meanwhile, preparations are making in France for the marriage of Sir Triamore and Celestina. But Triamore's aged father is eager to witness the wedding, and the king graciously consents to allow the bridal pair to proceed into Brittany for the ceremony, attended by Sir Lancelot, Sir Tristram, and many other knights and ladies.

With a speed possible only in romances the Soldan of Babylon has in the interval learned of the death of his son and landed a strong army which is already encamped around the town where the Duke of Brittany is holding his court. Then, laying an ambuscade four miles outside the city, he awaits the arrival of the bridal party. In the fight that ensues, all except Lancelot, Tristram, and Triamore are slain, and Celestina is carried off as prisoner. Worn out by fighting, the three knights wander many hours in the darkness through the woods until they come upon 'a great worn way', which finally leads them into a dark cave whence issue 'striking cries'. Then out of an adjoining cave suddenly emerges a 'mightie monster' with the face of a woman and the body of a huge serpent, and rolls against the mouth of the cave a great stone, making the knights helpless prisoners.

Chapter IV

While all this is happening Chinon has come to France in search of adventures worthy of a young knight. Ignorant of the country, he rides through deep valleys and dark woods until by chance he arrives before the mouth of the cave where the three knights are imprisoned. Reading the inscription at the entrance he learns that only a 'maiden knight' can release whoever is imprisoned within.

Presently he is confronted by the monster keeper of the cave and almost smothered in the dark smoke issuing from his 'ferie bellie'. In the fierce fight that ensues the brave young Chinon is almost overcome, when suddenly the monster vanishes. Then the great stone rolls away from the mouth of the cave, and the three imprisoned knights come forth. Great is the astonishment of Lancelot and Tristram to recognize in the valiant young man now before them the foolish boy they had left in England. But hardly have they recovered from their astonishment when King Oboram, king of the fairies, appears amid a troop of his attendants and bestows highest praises upon young Chinon, at the same time revealing that the hideous monster was none other than himself. Then he leads the four knights through long underground passages and out into a broad vale, where fastened in a great rock is a costly enchanted sword which is to be his who can pull it out. All try in vain until Chinon easily draws it from the rock. Thereupon the young knight receives rich arms and armour, along with a dwarf as a page, and promises of further help from Oboram.

Chapter V

From his new companions Chinon learns of the capture of Celestina and at once resolves to rescue her. Accordingly, with Triamore in the guise of an enchantress come from far to further the love of the Soldan for Celestina, Chinon and his dwarf go as attendant servants, while Lancelot and Tristram lie in wait for the infidels. Beguiled by the seductive enchantress the Soldan goes at night to an appointed place in the woods accompanied by his chief captains, when Lancelot and the others fall upon their unsuspecting enemies, killing them all but the Soldan, whom they carry away as a prisoner. To the unbounded gratitude of Celestina and Triamore Chinon makes a modest disclaimer and proposes to return to England with Lancelot and Tristram and his prisoner, the Soldan.

Chapter VI

Upon their arrival in England the three are welcomed with joy by all, and particularly by Chinon's aged father. King Arthur himself, to do Chinon honour, summons a solemn meeting of all the nobles

and peers of the realm and before the assembly formally dubs Chinon a knight, as he has already proved himself in reality, and appoints him a place at the Round Table.

Chapter VII

After his great exploits Chinon long idles away his time at home, until one day as he lies sleeping on a pleasant bank there suddenly appear two fairies showing him a suit of rich armour and a sword surpassing the one he had pulled out of the rock, and also the vision of a fair maid whose beauty baffles description. This maiden, Cassiopeia, the daughter of Bessarian, chief counsellor of the king of Egypt, has been vainly wooed by a noble named Perosus. Out of revenge he has enlisted the help of an old witch, who has conveyed her through the air far from her home to an unfrequented plain beside the river Nile. Here she sits and sings mournful ditties, when suddenly the wicked witch appears, upbraiding her for her cruelty to Perosus and threatening her with perpetual banishment unless she relents. To pass away the time the maiden keeps sheep, spins their wool, and makes herself homely garments. She sees no hope of escape, though without her knowledge her three brothers, Michander, Terpander, and Theonas are actively seeking her.

Meanwhile, Perosus, not content with the evil he has wrought, falsely accuses Bessarian of treason to the king, and as a proof shows forged letters that the aged man apparently had written to the king's enemies. The king, in a rage, overwhelms Bessarian with reproaches and, without waiting for an explanation, banishes the faithful old man from the kingdom and strips him of his property. Everything appears to favour the success of the plot, but the old witch on looking into her speculative glass discovers that the gods have determined the maiden's release, and hence encloses her 'within the ruine of an olde Rocke hard by the river side'.

Chapter VIII

Having Celestina in safe keeping, the witch now turns Bessarian into the form of a bear and has her attendant spirits hang about his neck a scroll bearing verses promising good fortune to whoever kills him.

While the old man is roaming about, the witch observes in her magic glass the approach of Cassiopeia's three brothers, who by different ways are unawares drawing near to their imprisoned sister. Michander, the eldest, catches sight of her in the midst of the 'cloven rock', and then sees the sides close and hide her from him. To his inquiry what he can do to release her she gives an answer dictated by the witch, directing him to bring from Mt. Taurus in Asia a vial full of virgin's tears that will 'breake the strongest inchaunted bands'. This vial is guarded by a 'sight-killing serpent' and the winning of it will be perilous.

While Michander is on his way, the second brother, Terpander, draws near and, overjoyed to see his lost sister, tries to kiss her hand, when suddenly the rock closes and shuts her from him. With tears she tells him how she has been imprisoned and entreats him to strive to free her. Far away, in the deserts of Arabia, says she, is Arion's harp, 'kept by a man-eating Canniball'. The music of this magic instrument will open the rocks and free her from her prison. Believing this lying tale, dictated, like the first, by the witch, Terpander sets out on his fool's errand.

Last comes the youngest brother, Theonas, and like his brothers sees his imprisoned sister. He in his turn is sent by her on a dangerous errand suggested by the witch. He is to go to a 'perilous island' where, guarded by two harpies, lies on an altar in a temple a golden book containing all known enchantments 'and their severall releases', and with this book he may effect his sister's release.

Chapter IX

After the departure of the three brothers, the fairies bring Chinon to Cassiopeia's prison, and while he wanders along the river he at length hears her singing a mournful ditty as she sits amongst the rocks. At sight of her he breaks out in passionate avowals of love and without hesitation undertakes the task that the maiden, impelled by the witch, imposes upon him.

Chapter X

Meanwhile, the eldest brother, following the directions given him, at length finds in distant Asia the monstrous cockatrice that guards the precious vial of virgin's tears, and, as his bright armour reflects

back upon the beast the poisonous rays darting from its eyes, Michander easily gets possession of the treasure. But the so-called tears, warmed by the heat of his hand, soon drive him to frenzy. While Michander is wandering aimlessly, the second brother finds the golden harp, far away in the Arabian deserts, guarded by a monster, part dog and part man. A furious fight ensues, the monster is killed, and the harp carried off. No sooner, however, has Terpander touched the strings than he is struck dumb by the magic sounds.

Last of all comes the third brother, Theonas, to the shores of the perilous island where lies upon the altar of the temple of the enchantress Erganea the golden book of enchantments, kept by two harpies. A short combat puts him in possession of the coveted book, but when he opens it his eyes are blinded by 'a dustie fogge', and he has to grope his way back to the place whence he came.

Chapter XI

While the three brothers are vainly wandering, Chinon by chance meets them one after another and draws upon himself the plague that torments each of them, becoming raging mad, dumb, and blind. Now that Chinon is practically helpless, the witch encloses him, like Cassiopeia, within the cleft of a rock against which she rolls a mighty stone, but fortunately she removes his plagues and restores him again to his wits.

Chapter XII

While Chinon has been wandering in strange lands, his father, the Earl of Cornwall, is plunged in sorrow at the loss of his son, and, unable longer to endure his trouble, one day appeals to King Arthur for aid. The king commands his knights to draw lots for the coveted privilege of joining the searching party. The lot falls to Sir Calor, who, after choosing two companions and taking counsel of Merlin, hastens on his errand. Arriving in the perilous island they soon come upon the giant guarding the cave where Chinon is kept, and after a fierce fight they compel him to free his prisoner, but consent to spare his life in return for his revelation of all that Perosus has plotted.

Chapter XIII

We now return to the brothers of Cassiopeia. When Chinon has relieved them in turn of their troubles and unwittingly drawn the plagues upon himself, the brothers make their several ways back to their sister. One after another they meet their father transformed into a bear, attack the supposed beast and leave him for dead. Meanwhile, there has been fought in Egypt between the king of Egypt and the traitor Perosus a great battle in which the king, aided by Sir Calor's company of Englishmen, puts Perosus to flight. By chance Bessarian, now somewhat recovered, meets Perosus and suddenly seizes upon him, but does him no harm. The conscience-stricken fugitive sees the scroll and with tears falls down before the man-bear, entreating his pardon and promising to lead him to his daughter. By good fortune Chinon, with the English knights, after the battle intercepts the witch as she is fleeing and, on her promise to free her prisoner, spares her life. The witch now transports them to the place where Cassiopeia is imprisoned, frees the maiden and begs forgiveness. This the lady grants; whereupon after the witch has recounted all that Chinon has done for the love of Cassiopeia, the young knight and the maiden pledge themselves to each other. In the midst of the rejoicing appears Perosus leading Bessarian, still in the form of a bear. By the help of the witch he presently resumes his former shape and then returns with the entire company to court. He is then reinstated by the king in his former dignity. Perosus is severely punished, and, as we might expect, Chinon and Cassiopeia are 'matched together in marriage'.

VI

THE ROMANCE OF *CHINON* AND ITS SOURCES

A SLIGHT examination of the romance of *Chinon of England* suffices to show that it is mainly a combination of features appearing in earlier romances or suggested by them, and that it is almost wholly a romance of adventures, strange and startling. Moreover, it is in large measure a fairy romance; in some sense, too, an original romance, since the author has tried to put his material together in his own way. Although the sources of much of the romance are obvious enough, in many cases it would

be difficult if not impossible to determine which of several possible sources the author actually used. We might not improperly characterize it as a belated Arthurian romance, with an abundant infusion of the sort of matter that appears in *Huon of Bordeaux*¹—the old French wonder-book translated by Lord Berners and first printed by Wynkyn de Worde—the whole tricked out with an ambitious display of classical learning, or what passed for such.

As is the case in *Huon of Bordeaux*,² Arthur is in *Chinon* little more than a lay figure drawn from literary tradition, and his court is the centre about which the chivalric life of his kingdom naturally gathers. Cadur of Cornwall, as elsewhere remarked,³ appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* and subsequent chronicles and Arthurian romances as one of the great supporters of Arthur, and he is similarly described here.

His son Chinon,⁴ the central figure of the story, finds no place in older Arthurian romance, but he has obvious affinity with the hero of the folk-tale of the Great Fool⁵ and with many similar heroes of medieval romance. The stories of this type present a young fellow who is of good stock but who, because of his crude early surroundings or his lack of opportunity, appears at the outset as an unsophisticated, awkward, and outwardly unpromising youth. The type varies in detail, but we find it in Peredur of the Welsh *Mabinogion*, in the more familiar Perceval of the romances, in Malory's Gareth,⁶ in the Knight La Cote Male Taile,⁷ and the hero of *Libeaus Desconus*. With some modifications we may even put into this class such a character as the knight Balin,⁸ who alone

¹ The first edition of Lord Berners' translation is assigned by Sidney Lee, who edited it for the E.E.T.S. (1882-7), to about 1534; the second edition, now lost, to 1570. The third edition, with somewhat modernized phrasing, was printed in 1601.

² See Index of Names in E.E.T.S. edition.

³ See note to p. 5/1.

⁴ Was the name suggested by the famous old castle town on the Vienne?

⁵ For *The Lay of the Great Fool*, see Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, iii, 146 ff., and for a summary, Nutt's *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 60 ff. Cf. also the stories of Cuchulinn and of Fergus, and of the hero of the romance of *Tyolet*, edited by G. Paris, *Romania*, viii, 40-50. Of course, only the general conception of an unpromising youth who ultimately achieves much links *Chinon* with the *Lay*.

⁶ *Morte Darthur*, Book VII.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Book IX, chs. 1-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Book II, ch. 2.

among Arthur's knights, although he is shabbily dressed and temporarily under a cloud, can draw the magic sword out of its sheath. Similar instances of the development of notable qualities in some one of unpromising exterior will occur to all readers of old romance.

Among the other personages in *Chinon* Lancelot presents the well-known characteristics of bravery, generosity, and modesty that he displays in Arthurian romance. But Guenevere—the traditional object of his devotion—is not once mentioned in *Chinon*, and Lancelot is presented as madly in love with Laura, daughter of Cador. By a singular and inexplicable slip, however, Sir Calor is introduced as the son of Lancelot and of the fair and chaste Celestina!¹ Tristram is, of course, drawn from the Arthurian or the Tristram romances, but we get no hint of his earlier career nor any mention of King Mark or of Iseult. Triamore, in his turn, though doubtless suggested by the well-known romance bearing his name, is put in a new setting.² The author seems in general to aim at arousing the reader's interest by presenting well-known characters in novel situations. These three famous knights here serve mainly as a foil to enhance the glory of Chinon. As for Laura, Celestina, and Cassiopeia, they are charming creatures, but their like may be found in any old romance, and we need not seek their prototypes. Nor do the remaining characters offer anything distinctive. Perosus is the well-known traitor type and Bessarian the victim of baseless slander. One of the stock features in many old romances is the false accusation, which, as a rule, is believed as soon as made. The helpless unfortunate is then banished or otherwise punished, and not till long after is the truth made known and the accused vindicated. We cite, as a few examples out of many, King Horn, the slandered empress in *Valentine and Orson*, Constance in the *Man of Law's Tale*, the legendary Genoveva, and so on. As for the three brothers of Celestina, they have no more individuality than so many automatons.

VII

THE SUPERNATURAL ELEMENT

ONE notable feature of *Chinon*, perhaps even the most characteristic feature, is the lavish use of supernatural agencies—fairies,

¹ See p. lxi.

² See note to 16/6.

magic, witchcraft—though there is singularly little of the magic atmosphere. The supernatural had dominated the Middle Ages, and under the intense strain of the Reformation period the old inherited belief in magic and witches and all the powers of darkness was rather intensified than diminished. High and low alike felt that they were encompassed by powers supernal and powers infernal, which either by prayer or by propitiation or by the use of a magic formula might be made to do the bidding of man.

Men of learning and real wisdom, to say nothing of the common folk, believed more or less firmly in the influence of the moon and the stars on the destinies of men, and our old poets abound in allusions to astrology, often too veiled to reach the modern reader. The courses of the planets run parallel with the paths of human life and might point the way to success or failure. No one had explored the mysteries of the skies and of the far away lands across the seas. Who could tell what might be hid there? What fountains of youth, what mountains of gold, what heaps of jewels exceeding the wildest dreams of the Arabian Nights? In such matters exaggeration is easy, but assuredly we may say that in every class of society there was a generally diffused faith in mysterious wonder lands and in medieval superstitions that have long since been relegated to the humblest ranks of our modern communities—in fairies, in witches, in ghosts. Probably Spenser did not seriously believe in the existence of fairies any more than did Shakespeare when he wrote *A Midsummer Night's Dream*,¹ but the Elizabethan age had a profound conviction of the existence of unfathomed marvels and of things never seen on sea or land. Heaven and angels were real and not very far away. And a hot flaming hell, with devils black and horned, was ready to receive the wicked. Alchemy had been scoffed at by Chaucer, but it had survived, just as Christian science and spiritualism and occultism of all sorts have captivated brilliant men and women in our own age of exact scientific research. The learned Dr. Dee, who was on friendly terms with Queen Elizabeth and many of the leading men of England, was a firm believer in alchemy and astrology and augury, and on March 10, 1574-5, he explained the use of his 'famous magic glass . . . to her

¹ For an interesting account of the conception of fairies current when *Chinon* was written, see Edwin Greenlaw, *Spenser's Fairy Mythology, Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina), xv, 105-22.

Majesty's satisfaction'. Very common was the magic use of the Bible and the works of Virgil—perhaps more famous throughout the Middle Ages as an enchanter than as a poet—to forecast future action. It is well known that Charles I, along with the poet Cowley, tried the *sortes Virgilianae* at Carisbrooke Castle in 1648. And John Wesley was frequently guided to a decision by the chance text that his eye rested upon as he opened his Bible.

The sixteenth century was, then, peculiarly favourable to the production of such a romance as *Chinon*, and it is not surprising that we find obvious traces of the influence of *Huon of Bordeaux*. Not only is 'Oboram' a modified form of Oberon, king of the fairies in the old French romance, but there is much reason to think that from the *Huon* romance came the chief suggestion for the extensive use of fairies and of magic in *Chinon*.¹ There is no certain proof that the author owes anything directly to Spenser, though his example possibly counted for something.

After what has been said above, the supernatural features that appear in *Chinon* call for no detailed discussion. In the realm of the impossible anything may be supposed to happen. One objection, indeed, to introducing magic as an active element in a romance is that everything has to yield to it. The characters can no longer develop under the influence of normal motives, and caprice rules the progress of the story. This is abundantly illustrated throughout the romance, the greater part of which is a succession of marvels. The unexpected constantly happens. Oboram and his magic cave, his attendant fairies, and his swift transformation from loathsome dragon to king of the fairies—all present situations not found in this workaday world. To these we may add the capture of Chinon by the fairies and his passage through the air to Egypt; Celestina's similar journey through the air and her imprisonment amid rocks that open and shut; the various plagues that torment the brothers in performing the tasks imposed upon them by the witch through the mouth of their sister, and the subsequent transfer of these inflictions to Chinon; the transformation of Bessarian into a bear; and, lastly, the release of all the victims from the power of the magic spells.

Moreover, since individual valour is at a disadvantage in con-

¹ Proportionally, if not actually, there is more fairy activity in *Chinon* than in *Huon of Bordeaux*.

tending with magical power, there is small room in *Chinon* for the interplay of one character upon another. The attention of the reader is forced upon the incidents, which almost necessarily become more and more startling and impossible.

VIII

INFLUENCE OF THE CLASSICS

LASTLY, we may note a feature of *Chinon* which forcibly strikes the modern reader, and that is the varied classical learning lavished upon this short romance. Much of the medieval literature makes free use of classical literature and tradition, but not infrequently the classical elements are strangely transformed in their medieval setting. Witness, for example, the metamorphosis of the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice into the exquisite fairy romance of *Sir Orfeo*. Nothing of the sort appears in *Chinon*. The medieval features still persist, but almost every situation suggests to the author something purely classical by way of illustration. As for the gods, they are the familiar deities of the classical pantheon, and there is no trace of Christianity in the entire romance. Quite likely the author took some pride in his familiarity with ancient literature or at least with some compendium of classic mythology. In any case, he parades his knowledge with the delight of a child showing a new toy. This exploitation of the classics is the peculiar earmark of the great Renaissance. Along with free use of the medieval lapidaries and bestiaries, it is one of the marked features of the euphuistic style; and of euphuism in *Chinon* there is quite enough for modern taste.

Obviously, *Chinon* is mainly addressed, not to the populace, who still delighted in variously modernized and abbreviated versions of the old medieval romances, but to readers who might be assumed to care chiefly for the great writers of antiquity and yet might be enticed into reading a quasi-medieval romance if classical allusions were liberally scattered along the pages. In his procedure the author is merely following a fashion exemplified by Spenser and Chapman and scores of others who found themselves living in an age still partly medieval but were so delighted with the new learning that they could not refrain from dragging it in at every turn.

So numerous are the classical allusions in *Chinon* that we can touch only upon the more notable. A favourite image of Elizabe-

than poets is that of the horses of the sun, and our author, wishing to indicate the approach of evening pompously refers to 'the sweating Horfes of the weary funne swiftly defcending from the highest top of that heauenly hill' (13/3 f.). The armour of the son of the Soldan of Babylon reminds the romancer of the armour of Achilles (15/19), and his heavy lance, of the great shaft that Ajax bore at the siege of Troy (16/35). He is familiar with the 'sweet tuned tongue of heauenlie Tullie' (20/33), and with the story of Aeneas and Dido (20/39, 38/20). Heavy blows in the fight with Oboram make him think of the 'steele the smoakie Cyclops forged for the mighty God of wrathfull warr' (28/12). Then he is reminded of the Gorgon's head (29/10); of the sword made by a magician for Julius Caesar (30/21); of the story of Orpheus and Eurydice (35/23); of Alcides and Jason (37/34) and once more of the Greeks before Troy (38/2); of Endymion (40/9); of the furies (41/5); of the dolphins dancing to the music of Arion's harp (41/10); of Medea (41/27); of 'Esopes vngratefull snake' (44/16); of Diana amidst her undraped nymphs (48/4); of Atlas, the labours of Hercules, and the labyrinth of Theseus (50/4-6); of Arion's harp (50/10); of the harpies (51/8, 58/23); of the wheel of Fortune (52/35); of the golden prize given to the fairest goddess (53/3); of the torments of Sisyphus (53/35); of the giants that piled hill upon hill to build steps up to heaven (54/1); of the poisoned shirt of Hercules (56/9); of 'the throted Dogge whome Thefeus awaked in the Gates of hell' (57/4); again (with much amplitude) of the harp that with its music could move rocks and trees (57/36); of the blinded Oedipus (59/13); of Ajax raging when he failed to get the armour of Achilles; and of Alcides in fury upon the mountain Oeta (60/5).

This rather formidable list is not exhaustive, but it is sufficient to present the striking phenomenon of a writer so full of medieval romance that he is impelled to produce one himself, and so steeped in the Greek and Latin classics that he naturally turns to them for illustrations and comparisons and forces them in superabundance upon his readers.

IX

PLOT AND CHARACTERS

AFTER this rapid survey of the materials of the romance we may well spend a moment in observing how they are put together, and

also how the personages of the story are handled. In its construction *Chinon*, like many medieval romances, has no central controlling motive, but is rather a loose-jointed succession of exploits designed to show the pre-eminence of the character who gives his name to the romance.

A glance at our analysis of the story indicates that it is divided into two main parts. The first six chapters take us through *Chinon*'s early youth and his exploits in France. Then the author seems not to know precisely what to do with his hero, and, after allowing him to rest in idleness for some time at home, can think of nothing better than to transport him bodily through the air to the banks of the Nile, there suddenly to fall in love with the imprisoned *Cassiopeia*, whose face and figure he had already seen in a vision, and to undertake marvellous adventures which lead to her release. The exploits in the East fill the remaining seven chapters and have practically nothing to do with those described in the first part, but the two parts are mechanically brought together under one title. In the first division of the romance, after *Chinon* has rescued the imprisoned *Lancelot*, *Tristram*, and *Triamore*, he is presented by *Oboram* with rich arms and armour, but he makes no use of them after his return to England, and he receives from the fairies a new equipment for his exploits in the East. *Oboram* is not again named. Moreover, *Tristram*, *Triamore*, and the *Soldan* of *Babylon* disappear from view, and there is only incidental further mention of *Lancelot* and *Celestina*. We do not even definitely learn whether the incomparable *Laura* finally accepts the hand of *Lancelot*, but possibly the author thought that the two had so fully pledged themselves that further comment was needless.

Although in effect the second half is almost wholly a detached and separate romance, there appears one remarkable and incomprehensible feature which is possibly not due to the author but merely one more instance of the incredible carelessness of the printer¹ or the proof-reader, if such there was. *Sir Calor*, who has hitherto not been mentioned, is suddenly presented (63/34) as the son of *Lancelot* and the young and innocent *Celestina*, though she is devoted to *Lancelot*'s companion in arms *Sir Triamore*, to whom *Lancelot*—himself devoted to *Laura*—has gallantly resigned her.

¹ We find startling evidence of the sort of blundering the printer was capable of in the account of the three brothers of *Cassiopeia*, pp. 49-50.

By no ingenuity can we find a time or place for the alleged origin of Sir Calor, which is morally and chronologically impossible. Celestina had never met Lancelot before he came to France to win by his exploits the favour of Laura; and even if we assume, as we have no right to do, a love affair between Lancelot and Celestina, how can we find room in the story for the eighteen or twenty years required to bring Calor to reasonable maturity? Can we assume that Chinon spent years in idleness after his return from France and before his going to Egypt? And lastly, since Earl Cador is already a tottering old man when his son Chinon is spirited away to Egypt, what must have been his age if we allow time for the birth and education of a knight competent to be the leader of the rescuing expedition which is to restore Chinon to his sorrowing father? Consideration of these facts leaves no other alternative than to assume that Sir Calor is the son of Sir Triamore and Celestina, and even this solution, which removes the moral difficulty, affords no explanation of the chronological puzzle.

X

GRAMMAR

ANY discussion of the style of *Chinon* compels some previous consideration of the grammatical features of the romance. But we can afford little space for details¹ and must present the essentials in compact summary. The modern reader unfamiliar with sixteenth-century English might at first suspect the author to be an illiterate scribbler. But closer study shows that practically every apparent lapse in grammar can be paralleled in the work of the most approved writers of the sixteenth century. Usage in Elizabethan English had not yet been brought to such uniformity as appears in the time of Queen Anne, and considerable differences are found in writings published at about the same time.

On the purely formal side there is little to remark. Inflexional endings, with one remarkable exception, are substantially those of modern English. The *-en* of the infinitive and the plural of verbs, so common in Chaucer, has vanished; *-eth*, the regular ending in the King James's Bible, is not in ordinary use in the third singular indicative present throughout the romance, its place being commonly taken by *-s* or *-es*, though *-eth* occasionally appears.²

¹ Some items are treated in the notes.

² The use of *-(e)s* (third singular indicative) in *Chinon* substantially agrees

Nouns are inflected for the most part as in our time, but the possessive of proper nouns is in a few instances indicated by adding *his* after the unchanged noun.¹ The ordinary possessive in *-s* or *-es* is, however, the normal form.² As for *its*, there is no example in the entire romance.

Although on the inflexional side the English of the romance calls for little comment, the syntax is often notably different from that sanctioned by modern usage. This especially appears in the frequent use of a plural subject with a verb apparently singular. As Kellner, however, observes,³ this 'may be simply accounted for by the fact that not only the endings *-es* and *-eth* but also *is* and *was* were used both in the singular and in the plural'.⁴ When compared with the usage of Chaucer and of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century romances in the Southern and Midland dialects, the practice of our author appears at first hardly defensible. But comparison with the usage of his contemporaries shows that he merely does with considerable freedom what others do now and then.⁵

A curious instance of attraction appears in the following: 'shedding manie showers of amber teares, whose power were able to haue drawne pittie,' &c. 41/3.

We can hardly afford further space for an enumeration of the peculiarities of the accidence of *Chinon*, but we may note one or two illustrations of the use (or misuse) of relative pronouns. Almost any page offers an example. Middle English writers

with the practice of Shakespeare, who uses *-(e)s* or *-(e)th* 'according to convenience'. Cf. Earle, *Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 66. The most frequent *-th* endings in *Chinon* appear in *hath*, *quoth*, and *doeth*, but we find also *catcheth* 24/21, *fareth*, 37/13, *spreadeth*, 38/27, *standeth*, 49/10, &c. By a singular slip the author, 42/9, presents the following: 'thou . . . that before esteemeft'!

As for participles, we note in *Chinon* the unusual forms *stinged*, 44/17, *overcommed*, 56/32, *stroken* (see Glossary). Cf. forms in the Oxford Dictionary.

¹ Cf. 'Ferdinand his horfe', 17/2, 'Sisiphus hys toyle', 53/35, 'Vlyffes his armour', 60/5.

² See, for example, 18/25, 18/26, 18/31, 18/37, 19/6, 19/24, 19/35, &c.

³ *English Syntax*, p. 48. Cf. also Abbott, *Shakespearean Grammar*, pp. 167, 235 f.

⁴ I have more than a score of examples, such as 'Sailers . . . doth admire', 6/31; 'plannets that guides', 9/38. Cf. also 11/32, 12/35, 16/37, 17/28, 22/18, 28/37, 33/15, 37/21, &c., &c.

⁵ Examination of a few pages of Edmund Spenser's *Present State of Ireland* (Globe edition) yielded four examples. See pp. 615, 622, 626, 641.

frequently omit a relative pronoun where ordinary modern usage retains it. *Chinon* continues the older practice.¹ A good instance of *constructio ad sensum* is the following: 'These wer they of whome we said afore were by the subtyll shifte of a deceauing Syren cunningly compaffed in that Caue,' 28/39.

In general our author is no model in his use of pronouns of any sort. Note the following: 'her that whose life', &c. (37/33); 'two or three periured companions who he . . . had suborned' (43/17); 'Shee that by them was thus bound . . . haue the Gods ordained', &c. (49/3). A characteristic exhibit of the author's method of using personal pronouns appears in the last paragraph on p. 65.

Throughout the romance the syntax is for the most part left to shift for itself; and in far too many passages words are left loose without grammatical relation with the quasi-sentences in which they are found.²

XI

STYLE

LEAVING now questions of grammatical form and structure we may venture a few words upon the style of the romance, if we may apply the term style to English such as Middleton writes. One has only to contrast the lightsome grace of Malory, to say nothing of Lord Berners, with the heavy lumbering of Middleton to realize that a great change has come over English prose in the course of a century.

Malory's prose doubtless employs too freely co-ordinate clauses connected by *and*, *for*, *then*, *thus*, and *so*,³ and it is perhaps at times unduly loose and garrulous and needs the variety and compactness that come from occasional suspension and subordination of the members of the sentence. But it is nearly always clear, often exquisitely beautiful, and always free from clumsy involutions and

¹ 'Leauing the way shoud lead him backe againe to hys Sifter' (56/12) and often. Browning furnishes many examples.

² Note the following, out of many:

The participle *foreseeing* (45/35) has nothing to agree with, and *maide* has no clearly indicated syntax. The main verb is often lacking. Cf. 'who long professing', &c. (30/4), 'and then leading', &c. (30/29). In the sentence beginning 'The maide', &c. (45/32) the first twenty words are left without grammatical relation, &c., &c.

³ Middleton has taken over the old paratactic habit while at the same time imitating the ponderous Latin period.

magniloquent verbosity. It shows no trace of the far-fetched euphuistic frippery which, a century later, wraps itself about a thought and smothers its life and movement. Of course, some of the credit for the style of Malory's *Morte Darthur* is due to the nameless charm and finish of his French originals. But so fully does he catch their spirit that the passages which are unquestionably his in matter as well as in form present substantially the same stylistic features as the translated portions of the romance.

Elizabethan euphuism undoubtedly did something to polish English prose style, for normal early Tudor prose, such for example as Latimer's or Tyndale's, tends somewhat unduly to plain, homely, workaday utility and gives too little attention to mere form. Euphuism, in the last third of the century, goes to the other extreme. The form of the sentence is as a rule more important than the content, and the over-ornamented product is essentially artificial and unreal.

To the average modern reader, indeed, nothing is more wearisome than euphuism,¹ with the long-drawn similes,² the repetition of a thought in another form,³ the heaping-up of mere words for the sake of showing off the writer's vocabulary, the forced alliteration,⁴ the parade of classical illustrations, and the beasts and birds that haunt the medieval bestiaries.⁵ And of euphuism, belated though it is,⁶ there is quite enough in *Chinon*.

But euphuism is not the only questionable feature of late sixteenth-century prose. Too many of the later Elizabethan prose writers have no clear conception of the different rhythm pertaining to prose and to poetry and they are continually tempted in their prose to trench upon the domain of the poet. They have, moreover, the vaguest ideas of the form and function of a sentence.

¹ It is a surprising fact, showing how dependent old translators were upon their models, that Lord Berners, whose English in *Huon* is so simple, should have introduced to English readers the tortured phrases of the Spanish Guevara, which rapidly became the pest of sixteenth-century English prose.

² Cp. in text 9/6 ff., 35/33 ff., 38/27 ff., 43/34-44/28, 58/27 ff., &c.

³ Cf. in text 35/33, 48/4 ff., 58/27 f., &c.

⁴ Incidental alliteration appears at every turn. Some of the more notable instances are found in the following pages: 6/2 ff., 7/33 ff., 11/1-20, 17/7 f., 17/20 ff., 18/2 ff., 20/25 ff., 21, 22/8 ff., 57/37 ff., &c.

⁵ See 21/7 f., 38/27 f.

⁶ See Earle, *English Prose*, p. 437.

Abundant illustrations may be found in Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590), where exquisite sentences abound beside numberless others that are mere thickets of phrases and clauses hopelessly entangled. Sir Walter Raleigh in his turn pours out his thought in a style that is stately and magnificent but almost unreadable, owing to the inordinate length and complexity of his sentences. With Sidney and Raleigh practically begins the 'flood of ponderous imitations of the Latin period that make much of the prose of the early seventeenth century a terra incognita for modern readers'.

These tendencies and many others are in greater or less degree illustrated in *Chinon*. We may begin with matters purely mechanical. Middleton apparently does not know what a sentence is or should be in form or extent and he constantly tries to crowd too much into it, with little concern for arrangement or length. Many of his attempted sentences are mere aggregations of phrases and clauses with no main verb and no movement. As a rule he advances as if he were wading through glue. His exasperating verbosity as he slowly wallows through phrase after phrase constantly reminds us that he has more words than thoughts. In the length of his sentences he shows no mercy. For example, the romance begins with a quasi-sentence of fifty-nine words—but with no main verb—and this is immediately followed by one of two hundred and six words. The subsequent sentences rarely, if ever, present the brief types constantly found in good modern prose, sentences ranging from ten or fifteen to twenty, thirty, or forty words. They normally run rather into blocks of seventy, ninety, and one hundred and twenty words, and even to shapeless monsters of more than three hundred words.¹ Some of this undue protraction can be in part remedied by a freer use of periods in place of commas, but in general the only cure is a radical recasting of the form. There are too many formal comparisons long drawn out, the diction is painfully prolix and overloaded with epithets,² while sometimes it is a mere jingle.³ There is an excess of participial and relative and parenthetical clauses⁴ beginning with *who*, *when*, *where*, and in

¹ See pp. 8/15 ff., 9/27-10/28, 12/28-14/2, 23/37-24/31, 39/9-40/4, &c.

² Cf. pp. 6/11 ff., 13, 14, 23/23 ff., 47/33 ff., &c.

³ 19/35 (content, confort, intent), 35/36, 37 (meede, deede), 42/15 (maid, dif-mayed!), 57/32 (confort, comfort).

⁴ 11/24 ff., 16/28 ff., 29/26 ff., 54, 58-61, &c.

general an overplus of dependent clauses themselves modified by dependent phrases or clauses, the whole combining to make the sentence limp wearily on until it can go no farther.

Illustrations of all these matters meet us at every turn. Dip in at random and we find at once a specimen on page 19/3, no better and no worse than scores of others. To readers of our time wordiness of this sort is little better than mere mouthing. And the worst of it is that the author evidently takes pride in his purple patches, and delights in saying simple things in as complicated and turgid a fashion as possible.

These are regrettable features of Middleton's writing, but we must note that, notwithstanding his usual clumsiness, he is rarely obscure, and he is often content when off his guard to write in a relatively unambitious fashion. At worst he seldom ventures upon the wildly tempestuous rhetorical sea in which the contemporary romancer Richard Johnson habitually disports himself. He does indeed occasionally swell somewhat and soar higher than modern taste approves, but he soon deflates and descends to earth again. Possibly his euphuistic flights were welcomed by Elizabethan readers; to us they appear hopelessly artificial and antiquated.

XII

LITERARY VALUE

WE have been compelled to deal somewhat severely with the style of this romance, but we must not allow the unfortunate form to obscure the significance of the romance on other grounds. *Chinon* affords one more proof out of many, too generally overlooked, that the type of literature which had held the foremost place in popular esteem for three or four centuries still made sufficient appeal to induce a writer in the latter days of Elizabeth to bring together famous characters of old romance in new relations. Nothing exactly parallel appears in the course of the entire seventeenth century, though a multitude of medieval romances continued to be reprinted in condensed and variously refashioned forms, and Richard Johnson's *Tom a Lincolne* and the more famous *Seven Champions of Christendom* along with the once widely read romances of Emanuel Ford freely exploited the whole range of old romance for striking situations. *Chinon* never won the popularity attained

by Johnson's flowery productions, but at all events it deserves more attention than it has received. The common neglect of the late romances, even by professed students of literature, has gone a little too far. With increasing research it is becoming obvious that the history of English literature in its relations with popular romance is yet to be written; for no adequate account of that literature—to say nothing of the old reading public—is possible that overlooks the fact that the old romances during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries helped to keep alive the appetite for the marvels of fairy-land and the departed glories of chivalry and thus prepared the way for the romantic revival in the eighteenth century.

As an attempt to rival the old romancers in their own field *Chinon* certainly leaves much to be desired, but as an attempt to meet the demand for medieval romance at the end of the sixteenth century by writing an original romance of the old type it is curiously interesting and significant.

T H E
Famous Historie of
Chinon of England, with his
strange adventures for the loue of *Ce-*
lestina daughter to Lewis King
of Fraunce.

With the worthy Atchiuement
of Sir *Lancelot du Lake*, and Sir *Tristram*
du Lions for faire *Laura*, daughter to *Ca-*
dor Earle of Cornewall, beeing all
Knights of King Arthurs
round Table.
By Chr. Middleton.

AT LONDON,
Printed by *John Danter*, for *Cuthbert Burbie*, and
are to be sold at his shop by the Royall
Exchange. 1597.

To the right worshipfull Master

Edward Stanley Esquire.

SIR, were I not more comforted with assurance of your Generous disposition, than perswaded of anie merit on my part, by offering the Patronage of this Historie to your hands, I should as certainly dispaire of the acceptaunce, as I am vncertaine whether it bee worthie to bee accepted. From the time of my first entraunce in Printing till now, it is the first Booke of this kinde I euer had power to dedicate; from my first yeres of capacitie to read anie printed thing, my affectionate dutie hath to your W. been dedicated.

Enisham, one of your Lordships, was my [A² back] birth-place; and as my Friends there pay duties for the place they liue in, so tender I this here as part of my duteous loue.

The Authour of the Booke hath left it to the wide world without a Patron, perchance esteeming it vnworthie protection; neyther doo I thinke it in the least part worthie your protection, before whose excelent iudgement (so daily conuersant among the most iudiciall) it cannot but vanish like light smoake before a bright flame. All my excuse is loue, all my request is pardon; which as (I first inferd) your noble disposition assures mee of. On which foundation building, I cease now to bee more bold.

Your Worships, most dutifully affectionate:

John Danter.

The famous History
of Chinon of England, Sonne to
Lord Cador Earle of Cornewall, with his rare
atchiuements for faire *Cellestina*, daughter
to *Lewes King of Fraunce*.

In the time of
King Arthur the
Earl of Corn-
wall is Cador,
already ad-
vanced in years
and no longer
equal to the
hardens of his
station.

CHAP. I.

*How Chinon the Earle of Cornewalles
Sonne was borne a foole, and
of the excellent ornaments of nature
wherewith his faire Sister Laura
was beaufesed.*

5

In the beginning of this flourishing Kingdome, when *Arthur*
then Monarch of this little worlde, with his attendant Knights,
whose valorous exployts, euery where acted for theyr Countries
honour, hath eternized their euerliuing names, euen in the
10 farthest coasts of the barbarous Pagans, where yet in despite of
consuming time liues their eternal Trophies as spectacles for all
posterities; [B¹ back] In this time liued there in England an
auncient Knight, whome this famous king for his many merits
and well deseruing deedes, had installed in the Earledome of
15 *Cornewall*, a dignity as hee thought fitting the deserts of this
famous man, that had so often vndergone the furious attempts of
the vnciuill Pagans, enemies to God, foes to his countrie, and
great hindrances to the then but young plants of springing
Christianity, as also endeuoring himselfe euery where to defend
20 the fame of his countrie, then of all other only fame worthy the
Honour of his order euery where honored, and the dutie belonging

to his Knighthood, which hee alwaies performed, till at the last, when the waight of many wearie yeares gan bow his declining bodie downe to the lowly earth, making his oft tried Armour too heauie a burthen for his now war weakned body, his brandishing sword beating down his age fallen armes, and euery supporter 5 of his lustie limmes beginnes to faile of their former force, he determines to end his life in peace at home, whose beginning he had spent in warres abroad, encouraging younger men with the spectacle of his former valours, courageously themselves to attempt the like indeuours.

10

Late in life he is blest with two children, a son, Clinion, and a daughter, Laura. The daughter is a pattern of all the virtues and incomparably beautiful.

In which time of his home aboad, the heauens blessed him with two goodly Children, a Sonne & a Daughter: but yet as it is the continual course of al ruling fortune to mixe with euery good some ill, with euerie sweet a sowre, & with euery sunshine show of promising hap, a tempestuous storme of ill boading hurt, 15 so fared it in the issue of this yet vnhappy Prince: for when the stealing houres of all ripening time had brought them from their Infant Cradelles to some participation of fencible knowledge, his Daughter, whose name was *Laura*, so forwardly prospered in euery Liniamment of her beautifull bodie & all eternall qualities 20 of a vertuous minde: [B²] so that in short time she became the censured subiect of all wise iudgements, in determination whether nature had better beautefied her bodie, (where indeede shee had exceeded her self) or the Gods quallified her mind, wherein they had made her the only similitude of themselves. No penne that 25 was not busied in painting her praifes, though all too little for that purpose, and no tongue but was still telling her perfections, though they neuer could attaine them: for too bright was her beautie to be shadowed in the couloring cunning of a mortall capacitie, and too high her heauenly minde to be enstauld with 30 the earthlie weedes of mans bafe wit, that as the toilesome Sailers in the dangerous Seas watching the misfortunes of a tedious night doth with themselves mightily admire the gorgeous state of many twinckling stars, till when the siluer Moone, prouddie rising from her glorious bed, drawes backe their daseled eies to 35 behold her more than common countenance: so fares it in this age of theirs, where no starre may compare with her state, no face with her faire fortune, nor no grace with the least glimce of her glorie; so to leaue to expresse that in wordes which could

not bee comprehended in all wits, neuer did nature before com-
 pofe of fo rude a Chaos fo comely a creature : But her Brother, Her brother is
 well formed and
 handsome, but
 he has the mind
 of a child with
 the manners of
 a fool and is a
 great grief to his
 father.
 whose name was *Chynon*, outwardly formed in as faire a fashon
 as might well befeeme the sonne to fuch a fire, but in his minde
 5 more than a maimed man, wanting that portion of sensible
 capacity which commonly doth accompany euen the meaneft
 feruillitie: So that by how much his Sister exceeded in extra-
 ordinarie wifdome, by fo much was hee fcanted in ordinarie
 witte, where in fteede of Princely feature was nothing found but
 10 foolifh behaiour, for high atchiuementes boyifh follies: for that
 which is required in a man, not fo much as is commonly found
 in a childe, vncapable of the rudiments of good [B² back] coun-
 saile, and vnfit to conceiue the commoditie of comelie quallitie :
 whence as all men with admiration wondred at the one, fo none
 15 but with commifferation pittied the other, that fo well fashioned
 a body fould containe fo ill formed a minde; ftrongly had
 nature forged hys limbes, which promifed his valour, but weakely
 had the enuious Fates framed his mind, wher was no hope of
 better. So that heere nature vnnaturally handling fo good
 20 a fubieft had enclosed in the perfecte body of a man little better
 than the vnperfect foule of a beaft, like almoft the imitating of an
 apifh artificer, that in faire fhowes deciphers a formall fubftance,
 in curious cunning colours painting a Princely perfection, which
 fatisfies the outward fence as the fame, but cannot content the
 25 inward conceit, beeing but a bare fhow: So by euery outward
 appearance was he iudged well till triall by experience to euery
 one proued him worfe; but how great a corfue it was to his
 careful Parents, I leaue it to them to confider whom experience
 hath taught to conceaue the like inconuenience; great griefe was
 30 it to his old father that had beene himfelfe full of valour, to fee
 his young fonne, though able, yet vnfit for any fuch endeouour,
 which turned his hoped for reft to haplefse ruine, his aged mirth
 to angrie moane, and what fo euer other content, into a contrarie
 conceit, to fee his poore neighbours comfort their feruile liues with
 35 the fight of their forward Children, and hee their unfortunate
 Lord wanting that redrefse which thofe poore creatures in refpect
 of him in fuch plentifull manner do daylie poffefse.

Thus griefuing to remember that which hee cannot forget, and
 forrie to haue fo difcontented an obiect to his aged eies, which

he stil bewailed, though by no meanes his grieve could be healed, at last learns with patience to beare that which with paines he cannot amend, and [B³] instantly solicites the great Parliament of heauen, in whose dispose rests the estate of all creatures, that in their vnsearchable wisedome they woulde either open the eyes 5 of his blinded soule, forged in the mistie vale of a cloudy ignorance, or els cut short the vnpleasant date of his wearie life, and so preuent the insuing ignominie of his future times: where wee must now leaue him a while in his follie, till the proceffe of our History bring vs thither againe.

10

CHAP. II.

*How two of King Arthurs Knights
arriued in Earle Cadors Court, and
how Launcelot du Lake obtained the
loue of faire Laura.*

The fame of
Laura's beauty
draws to Cadors
court a multi-
tude of valiant
knights from
distant lands,
among them
two from King
Arthur's Round
Table, Sir
Lancelot and
Sir Tristram.

During which time this young Ladie, Daughter to this worthie 15
Earle Cadors, with the report of her matchles beautie, resounded
in euery eare the welcome sounde of selfe pleasing loue, and
thereby incited many aduenterous Princes and matchles Knightes
to forsake their farthest Countries with contented trauailes, to
conferme with their eyes what had [B³ back] so filled their longing 20
eares, as doth the neuer moouing pole drawe the adamantine
touch of euerie steely compasse still to direct their purpose to
one point, so fared it here, whether declines the glance of al eies,
the thoughts of all harts, and the aime of all actions. Amongst
whom arriued two Knightes of the honourable order of King 25
Arthurs rounde Table, which was then so fullie furnished with
a peareles troupe of couragious Cauileers, as iustly compared
with all countries for like company, whose names were Sir
Lancelot du-lake, and Sir *Tristram du-Lions*, two wonders for
their worthines, matchles for their might, and for their curtesie 30
exceeding compare: who amongst many millions of other braue
Gallants there all for one purpose assembled, proudly opposes
themselves against all approaching powers both of forraine and
homeborne foes that durst any way set themselves against her
Soueraignetie, wherein they so valiantly behaved themselves, 35

especiallie Sir *Lancelot du-lake*, whose vndaunted courage stroke
such terror to the hearts of his foes, and won such fauour in
the sight of his friends, as hee was generallie admired of all, but
especiallie of *Laura* whose maiden heart, being nowe touched
5 with the pricke of affection, receaued so deepe an impressiō as
could neuer after be raced forth againe, and [i]ke¹ as there is no
substance without his accident, no fire without his smoake, nor
shadow without his body: so is there no loue, how closely foeuer
it bee shadowed, how cunningly foeuer it bee diffembled, or how
10 farre so euer remooued, but will by some meanes manifest it selfe,
which in her proued true; for though her modest countenance
blushing, ashamed at first to discouer the earnest affection of a fo
foone conquered louer, labored what in her lay still to repes her
new mounting thoughts winged with the aspiring defence of
15 a restless louer: yet like fire the more it is kept [B⁴] downe the
fiercer it riseth, floods the surer they are stopped the sooner they
ouerflow their bankes, and windes the greater that are their
oppositions the more furious are their forces; so fared it with
the laboring heart of this lawles louer, sometimes determining to
20 disclofe with her tongue what lay so hid in her heart, and then she
blushed for shame: then determined to smother it in obliuion;
and then lookes she pale as fainting in dispaire: no minute but
there entred into her minde the thought of a thousand doubtles,
no doubt but redoubled her troublesome thoughtes, and both
25 more and more doubtles, still increaseth the vnquenchable fire of
her loue-thirsting soule.

Lancelot loses
his heart to
Laura, and she
is not indifferent
to him.

But she hardly
dares confess
the secret to
herself, and
Lancelot de-
spairs of winning
a prize so incom-
parable.

In that thinges by howe much they are hard to compasse, by
so much are more worth being once compassed, gladly would
shee forget that which most shee delighteth to remember, saine
30 would shee shunne the snare that shee so willingly runneth into,
and desires to winke at that shee doeth most desire: On the other
side the worthie Knight dispairing of his good fortune, or els
doubting his former force, grew with melancholly demeanor to
spend halfe in dispaire the dayes hee was wont to ouerpasse in
35 the fulnes of desire, thinking eyther her affections were els where
so throughly fetled as could not be seuered, or his worth meriting
demeanor deserued not so much as a fayre aspect from those
powerfull plannets that guides the distressed estate of his sicklie

¹ Text, *looke*.

foul. L[i]ke¹ as a weary wayfaring man, that tired with the toilsome labor of a tedious trauaile, dispayring with in his time to enioy the end of his iourney, and therefore vseth a speedier pace to perfourme his purpose, so fares it with the still troubled minde of this distressed Knight, who determining with himselfe how he might worke some meanes that might merrite mercie in the moodie censure of that disdainefull Iudge, who as he thought [B⁴ back] with a feure sentence, would rather pronounce his death than promise his life, determined with himselfe how he might doe his endeouour to obtain her frendly fauour, which with long consultation hee thus concluded, namely, to vndertake some hardie aduenture & dedicate his labour to her loue, and so if peraduenture the happie course of all helping heauens did so prosperously further his attempts, as that in his wearie plotted way hee might but fortunately finde any worthie worke whose conquest might deserue commendations, he fed himselfe with this hope, that the settled perswasion of his sure loue confirmed by the dangerous endeuors of his longing life, perfectly presented to her memorie by the atcheiuevements of his worthie victorie, wold somewhat assuage the fury of her contemptuous conceit, & if not at the first win her, yet by little & little weare out the blot from her memorie, that detaines his loue from her minde: yet least his abrupt departure might be a greater cause of his disgrace, hee determined before hee went to paint forth that passion in the vnblushing lines of an amorous letter, which he could not disclose with the inforsiue words of a pittie moouing loue, & therefore sequestring himselfe from the resort of all company, hee thus in pittiful termes discouers his pure loue.

But he determines to attempt some 'hardy aduenture' to prove his devotion,

[C¹]

and he even addresses a letter to the matchless Laura, avowing his love and pledging himself to prove worthy of her fauour.

'Lancelot du-Lake, to the Soueraigne of
his soule, matchles faire Laura.'

30

'Laura, pardon my rude proceeding, in that I so barely begin with thy naked name, for that thou dimmest all accents of fayre, and exceedest all Epethiles of wit; the Poets thought Venus fayrest when she was naked, for that her beautie, being sufficient of it selfe, scorned all the artificiall ornaments of rich apparrell: And so of thee, whose shaddow fairer than her substance, canst not bee fitted

¹ Text, *Looke*.

with any stile which thou doest not farre surmount: Looke downe
vpon the seruile estate of a subiect slaue that, burning in the fierce
flame of a neuer dying fire, prostrates his fillie soule at thy per-
fections shrine, so deeply imprinted in his hart, as but the comfort
5 of thy pleasing selfe; no salue may ease his dying smart, [C¹ back]
onely thou hast hurt mee, and saue thy selfe none can heale mee.
Ah, doo not then triumph in my tragedie, because peculiarly
from thee proceedes my remedie: nor bee not proude of thine Art,
because thus piteoustlie I implore thine aide, but with gentle fauour
10 intertaine what with humble submission I intreat, and in requitall
of that deede I will impose to my selfe a toile without rest, a trauell
without end, and be a Conquerour without conquest, till my
ceaselesse paine may deserue thy pittie, my toilesome trauell procure
our truce, and the Trophies of my victorie requite some part of thy
15 curtesie: Thus what I doe or what I suffer, what I presently
possesse, or whatsoeuer I shall haue, I sacrifice at thy Altar, as
propitiatorie offrings, and with the sad sighes of a sorrowfull hart,
cense thy sacred shrine, still intreating but this, that thou wouldest
gently accept these rude lines of a rude Louer, and when discontented
20 distance shall diuorce me from thy Angelicall presence, thou wouldest
at the least pittie my sorrow, though thou wilt not salue my fore.

Thine whilst his owne,

Lancelot du Lake.

[C²] This Letter he deliuered to a Page attendant vpon him, and
25 whilst his seruant was gone to conuay it to her, himselfe went in
to take his leaue of the Duke and the rest of his Noble friends
and fellow Knights, where with a tedious discourse he discouers
the cause of his so sodaine departure, vowing his deuoted seruice
wholly to her honor, for whose loue he was now forced to leaue
30 his Country, and seeke straunge Aduentures in forraine Coastes,
whom they all were sorry to forgoe; yet seeing his importance,
solemnely commits him and his intended enterprises to the good
fortune of his still fauourable starres, except Sir *Tristram du-Lyons*
who, for loue of him and honourable care of his solemne order,
35 would needes in despite of what euer contrarie perswasions,
accompany him in his course: whom when Sir *Lancelot* had

This letter he
sends by a page
to Laura and
immediately
takes leave of
Cador to go to
France.

His only companion is Sir Tristram, who cannot be persuaded to allow Lancelot to depart alone.

with many perswasive arguments of forceable friendship diswaded from his indeuour, laying open vnto him the great cause of his dolefull departure, which so deuoutly hee had vowed to performe, as also what discontent the absence of so many Knights would breed in their King and Captaine *Arthur* of England, whose royall furnished Table had ransacked the treasure of the world for to supply his want: yet all in vaine stroue his wordes to disswade the other from his will, for not all the sugered wordes the others oratorie could afford, would anie whit disswade him from his former purpose: but, in despite of what euer accident should ensue, he would needs accompany him in his iournie, vowing to sustaine what hardy stormes of abiect misfortune foeuer shoulde betide this thrice famous *Lancelot* hys vowed brother, that neuer should the burning heate of all springing sommer, nor the cruell colde of deade killing winter, weale nor woe, prosperous felicitie, [C^s back] nor aduerse extremitie, funder their soules whilst life did vphold their bodies: Whom when *Lancelot* saw that by no meanes he could disswade, hee gentlie admits his so long desired company, and with as many thanks accepts it, as the other with millions of offers had vrged it.

CHAP. III.

How Lancelot du-Lake, and Tristram du-Lions ariued in the French Kings Court & how Lancelot du-Lake ouercame Roderigo Duke of Austria, and wonne the chief prizes in the Turnament, with other thinges that hapned.

The two knights quickly arrive in France and set out on horse-back for the court of the French king.

Thus these two aduenterers for honor, after they had solemnly tane their leaues, ioyfully set forward on their iournie, & with a prosperous winde quickly cuts ouer the calme consenting Seas vnto the bordering rockes that walles their countrie France from the furie of the sometime surging Sea, and after their ariual, being proudly moun-[C^s]ted vpon stately Steedes, stout of courage, able of limmes, and beauteous in show, attended onely with two Pages, who for that purpose they had appointed, takes vpon them the nearest and directest way that bordered vpon that coast

where they lately landed, & spending the partching heate almost of a whole sommers day wandring through defart woods and manie vnpeopled plaines: till when the sweating Horses of the weary funne swiftly descending from the highest top of that
5 heauenly hill, whence in his glory hee ouerlookes the mightiest mountaines that the earth affordes, & by their fiery tract summoned the silent night vp to her wearie watch, they began to looke out where they might espy any conuenient place for their purpose, where that night they might repose themselues to
10 rest.

At last after much curious search descending down into the pleafant bottome of a lowlie dale, where by chance ran from forth the bowels of a mighty mountaine a coole fresh spring, whose siluer current shadowed ouer with the heat expelling power
15 of thicke tufted trees refreshes the increase of all adioyning vallies, who weary with wandering, and willing no thing more than such pleafure as there was plentifully promised, they alighted, and rayning all their horses to the big bowes of an aged neighboring Oake, gins with the fresh coole current of that pleafant spring to
20 alay the thirst of their hot stomackes, where they had not long sol[ac]ed¹ themselues in the shade after their great trauaile, but that an auncient Hermite inhabiting the defart roomes of that vnacquainted corner, walking his accustomed iournie, by chaunce lightes vpon these wearie Knights as they were cooling
25 their weake limmes in the delightfome depth of that pleafant spring, who as ioyfull to see some crea-[C³ back]ture of whome they might be better directed for the furdurance of their affaires, as the other was willing to supplie their wants, with that poore prouision that himselfe wanted not, they with curteous salutation
30 entertaine him, and hee curteously regreeting them with the like wifhes of good lucke, requires what, whence, and who they were that had so farre wandred from the beaten wayes of those wide Defarts; to whome *Lancelot*, with reuerent regard to his olde age, mildely answers that they were two Knights of the round
35 Table, aduenterers in Armes, that had for the honor of their order, the credit of their countrie, & the loue of their loue worthy Ladyes, vndertaken to trauaile euen as far as funne and

On their way they descend into a pleasant dale where they meet 'an ancient hermit' who asks them who they are and whence they come.

¹ Text, *solicited*.

feas, the one would giue them light, and the other afford them land.

On learning from Lancelot that they are knights of the Round Table seeking adventures for the honour of their order and the love of their ladies, the hermit tells them that King Lewis of France is not far away and on the morrow is to hold a great tournament, one of the prizes being his daughter Celestina.

‘Then,’ answered the old Hermite, ‘are you happely come into these Confinnes: for not far from hence is the great Court of that mighty Monarch *Lewes* of France, that, for the eternall memorie of all succeeding posterity, hath for to trie the strength, valour, & manhood that all the wide world can afford, appointed three Prises, the first a rich Armour curiously wrought, and richly bee deckt with precious stones, whose worth I cannot in words sufficiently set forth, with al the habilliaments thereunto belonging; the next a gorgeous Bedde curiously couered ouer with beaten gold, the fashion whereof farre exceedeth the worth of the massie worke, & all the rich adorninges thereunto appertaining; the last but best, faire *Celestina* his daughter and heire, whom I may well call the wonder of our worlde, whose beautie I will not labour to blase, least fayling in furduring that rare report, I should discredite my selfe in seeming curiously to commend that whose least moytie exceeds the highest reach of any earthly minde: There [C⁴] may you trie the trust you haue in your selues, & cut short the processe of your long pretended iournie: for that thither will reforte all the flowers of Cheualrie, that now flourish ouer the face of the whole world: To morrow begins these triumphes, whether in good time you shall attaine, and for that this day, well nigh done, will not afford you any further trauaile, please it you but to accept the turfie Cabbine of a homely Hermitage, and the simple supper of a fillie sequestered man that, hauing forsaken the vaine delights of his young dayes, hath betaken himselfe to the melanchollie remembrance of his after life: where to supplie your want of meate, you shall haue store of welcomes, and when the next morne shall bring glad tidings of the swift insuing sun, my selfe will direct you backe thither, from whence you far erred in declining your wearie iournie hither.’

After being hospitably but plainly entertained in the hermit's cabin the knights start the next morning for the court on a broad highway thronged with travellers.

These two Knights curteously accepting the pleasure of this aged Hermite, contented themselues that night with the vn-
bolstred bed of a hard hurdle, & when the liuely Larke, a gladsome Harrald to the dawning day, gan with her siluer sounding note to discharge the melanchollie glooming night, hence haste these fame following aduenterers, to practise their

forward indeuours, whom the olde Hermite duellie directes how they should againe get into the great traced way that directlie would carrie them to the Court and so, with manie praieris for their good speede, committeth them to the charge of him that
5 carieth the care of all creatures: from whence they had not long trauailed, recounting to themselues the happie chance of their speedie ariual, but before them ouer an euen leuelled plaine they might espie a wide beaten way, beeing full fraught with still approaching trauailers that, like a huge and mightie streame
10 sending all [C⁴ back] his force to the sea, turnes all the course of their conueiance to one end, directs their iourney with al speed thither, supposing that to be the way that should lead them to the Court, and those trauailers wandring thither to be witnesses of the rare report of those deeds of Armes wherof their old Hoast had
15 the other night giuen such great commendations: where when they came, they found it to be euen so as they before imagined, and turning themselues that way whither pressed the streame of the increafing company, At last they ouertooke a mightie knight clad in habilliments of gold, such as was the Armour of *Achilles*,
20 mounted on a blacke *Barbarian* Steede, that with his stately gate stoutly contendes to put downe his Master in pride, trapped with the rich pompe of *Persian* worke, curiously set with starres like Diamonds that, playing with the dazeling beames of the golden Sunne, dimes all the gazing eyes of the greedy beholders: before
25 him rides richly mounted ten Esquiers bearing ten lustie Launces, and thus martching in as triumphant a state as euer did *Caesar* in the *Romane* strects, he comes to the Court, where were readie prepared all necessarie circumstances for such Knightly seruices: where before the Court vpon a plaine greene prouided for that
30 purpose the attendants appointed to bee erected a riche Pauillion of wealthie wrought Crimson silke, the ropes of the same colour wrought with siluer threds, and what els belonged to the supporting thereof was workemanlike wrought of the same mettall: there till the time that euery thing was ready for the
35 Tilt he repofes himselfe, where *Lancelot* longing to know and proue what was contained within all this Port boldly gins inquire of an attendant vpon him what he should be, who answered that his Master was sonne and heire to the great [D¹] Soldan of *Babilon*, drawne from his Country with the same of

At last they overtake 'a mighty knight' in golden armour, mounted on a black steed superbly trapped and accompanied by ten esquires. This is the son and heir of the Soldan of Babylon and a suitor for the hand of Celestina.

faire *Celestina*, for whose loue hee came thither, to aduenture his life.

Next comes a knight all in black, with a single page, Sir Triamore, son of the 'Duke of Brittain', already the favoured lover of Celestina.

Shortly after approaches the place another puissant Knight clad all in blacke, and he, onely attended by a little Page that bore his Lance, erected a fable Tent, of whom when he required 5 to knowe, it was answered that he was called *Triamore*, sonne to the Duke of *Brittaine*, who for that hee had long affected this beauteous Prince (for whose sake all this was provided) and shew with like affection answered his loue, seemed discontented in himselfe, that shew should bee offered to any but himselfe. 10

Next him came many other of whome were too long feuerally to dilate. But in the ende when all were ready, & euery thing for these stately triumphs orderly provided, the Prizes brought forth, the Iudges set, and euery other appurtenance orderly appointed, the first that entred the Lifts was *Ferdinand*, heire to 15 the Emperour of *Almaine*, mounted on a white Courser, that being artificially arrayed with cunning conceited wings, Peggasean-like deceaued the earnest eies of euery beholder, with a shewe of fained flight.

Among many other contestants is Ferdinand, heir to the Emperour of Almaine, who soon unhorses a mighty pagan, but is himselfe overthrown by the Soldan's son.

Against him prepares a Pagan, mightie of body, and cruell of 20 countenance, who furiously meeting, like the fatall opposition of two Elements, shiuers their strong staues, whose splinters spinning in the emptie Aire, with their buzging sound, tels the braue encounters of their furious fight from whom they flew, which course the Pagan, borne from his Horse and fore brused with 25 the big bound of his vnweildie body, was conuayed from the place of their Chiualrie, almost past hope of recovery.

In whose reuenge stepped forth many mightie [D^r back] men, hardie and approued Knights, whome this yong Prince with like furie forced to fall with their fellowes: till at last like an angry 30 Bore newly roused from his drowsie den, busling vp his big briffels, as aiming at an act of rigorous reuenge, steps forth the proud Soldans sonne, and he, pricking his Palfray to the end he might rigorously root out the springing hope of this young Prince, clapping as heauie a Launce in his strong rest as euer *Aiax* fore 35 the walles of *Troy*, shiuered for the recouerie of their vnhappy losse: euen like the furious stroke of two strong streames, that with their tirrible thunder affrights the vnacustomed eares of their neare neighbours, meetes in the midst of the Lifts the liuely Lordes,

- where with equall encounters they were both dung downe to the
grounde, where *Ferdinand* his horfe, vnhappily falling vpon his
Masters leg, so brused it as hee was not able againe to recouer
his saddle but was conueyed thence: which when the young
5 Soldan perceaued, stoutlye triumphing in his valiant victory, gins
saucely to proclaime a proud challenge against all Christians, for
the reuenge of those fore punished Pagans: which vaine glorious
vaunt so stirred vp the neuer vanquished valour of valiant *Lance-*
lot as that addressing him to the fight gins shew himselfe at the
10 other ende of the Listes, as ready to recouer the almost lost
Honor of his Christian Countrie, whome so soone as the Soldan
had espied, spreading his winges like a greedy Goshauke howering
ouer a fearefull couie of cowardly Fowles, gins addresse himselfe
to his former demeanor: whome *Lancelot* with such courage
15 encountred as, bearing downe both horfe and man to the ground,
astonished the vnchristned slaue with so fearefull a fall as almost
quite expelled the vitall spirits from his bigge swollen breasts: But
yet feeling [D²] himselfe in so great a daunger of deuouring
death, & out of all hope of the pittifull compassion of his eager
20 enemie, beganne againe to rouse himselfe, and speedily preparing
his strong fencing furniture, to assay the fortune of a furious fight,
casting ouer his shoulder a large sheltering shield and brandishing
in hys hand a keene edged Curtlee-axe, gins nowe a foote to
assayle him, that before on Horfe backe hee did assault.
- 25 When *Lancelot* perceaued it, he prouided himselfe for the like
purpose, and courageously encounters this harme hammering
Heathen, where betwixt them againe beganne a farre more fiercer
fray on foote then was the cruell encounters before with their
Horfe, which, continuing very long on both sides confirmed with
30 the fierce falles of their vnwildie weapons, makes at length Sir
Lancelot du-Lakes armes (weakned with the issue of much blood,
that the Pagan had spilt with his blowes) almost to faile of his
former forces, which beeing espied of the Christians, and especially
of the King, who aboue all other, despised a Pagan should possesse
35 so Princely a Prize as they had there prouided, gins euery where
to enquire of that Knight, on whose strength almost nowe
depended their whole estate, to whom at length word was
brought that it was a Knight of King *Arthurs* round Table,
whose name was Sir *Lancelot du-Lake*, to whome all the Confines

The victor now
challenges all
the Christians
and thus draws
Lancelot into
the lists.

After a hard
fight *Lancelot*
slays the pagan
prince.

of Christendome hardly in Chiualrie afforded a fellow: which stroke such a difmall dumpe into the moodie minde of this discontented King, to see the Champion of Christendome so neere vanquished, vnder the pittileffe power of a most hellish heathen, as almost driues the bright and Rosiall colour from his afore well 5 coloured Cheekes. [D^e back]

Till when this still triumphant Knight, shakeing himselfe as from a sluggish slumber, reaches at the Pagan with such power as that, at one blow with his well tempered sword, hee quite cuts 10 a sunder the strong turret that hemmed in his head, & settling further downe to his harmefull head, batters a sunder the siluer wall that shieldes the principall partes of soul seruing sence: and the rest remayning remnants of that little world, wanting the direction of their greatest guide, altogether faile any further to 15 fence their fainting fellowes from his battring blowes; which fight bred no small content to the almost sickly foule of the King, who expected nothing lesse then the so speedy death of his spitefull foe who, beeing by the conquer[or]¹ disarmed of his rich habilliments, was by the rest of his company quickly conuained to his curious Tent, and all his attendants sent home with sorrow, 20 that whilome flourished in such hope for felicitie.

Sir Tristram
also wins honour
in the lists, but
no one equals
Lancelot.

After this approached many other Knights to trie their fortunes in that fight: from whence Sir *Tristram du-Lions* won the honor of that day, still working for greater glorie with more manlike demeanor. Till when the nights blacke shadow gins set an end 25 to that dayes bright showes; and so euery one, expecting the end of their aduentures, thronged to heare the iust iudgement of that sure censuring Senate, forepointed by the King to determine of this doubt, who with one assent after they had highly commended the many valerous deedes of diuers couragious Cauileers, did 30 aboue all wholly attribute the honor of that dayes dutie to Sir *Lancelot du-Lake*, as one that had best deserued it of them all; and so putting him to the King, at whose hands he was to receaue this renowned reward, he there with no lesse pleasure to heare [D^s] the murmuring noyse of the muttering multitude, 35 buzzing the report of his valerous deedes, then with the hope of those rich rewardes appointed for the Conquerours meed, receaued

Celestina thus
becomes the
prize of Lancelot.

¹ Text, *conquered*.

at his Kingly hands al those robes, of more than estimable estate,
and whatsoeuer by due was fitting his desert.

Amongst which was that more than faire *Celestina*, for whom
rather than the rest was assembled such and so many mightie men,
euen from the furthiest Coasts of al the Esterne Kingdomes to
the Westerne Iles, bound vp in the Oceans bosome : but for that
himselſe had before settled his seruice to honour that Saint, whose
Idea grauen with the Diamond points of Chrifall caruing eyes
in the impregnable table of his secret¹ heart, whence no furie of
newe affaulting force can euer wash it away, determines in this
to winne to himselſe the report of more worth than by his former
acts he had fully atchieued : and therefore with many thanks to
his Maiestie, receauing the rewardes of his honour, which now
lay all in hys power to dispose, after some conference suche as to
like affaires are most fit, calling for Sir *Tryamore*, of whome we
before told you that he was sonne & heire to the *Brittaine*
Duke, gins thus discourse his honorable intent.

‘ Since ’, quoth he, ‘ the vnmerited mercy of euer helping
heauen, from the great attemptes of many more mightier than my
selfe, hath attributed the honour of this day to the vnderferued
dutie of my deed[es]² : By the censure of which sentence I am to
enjoy the possession of all this pleasure, whose especial good rests
in the glorie of this more than a Goddesse ; yet since my minde
not cappable of her loues impressiō, because already³ it retaineth
the beautie of another, in such sure possession as that no time can
trie⁴ it, no beu-[D^s back]tie blot it, nor other loue with languish-
ment lauish it away, to thee will I giue what I might by right
take away, and so gaine more honour by the voluntary release of
her loue to thee then I should get fame by the forceable detayn-
ing of her affections to my selfe. In which I shall binde thy
loue to me as to a friend, her liking as to a fauorer of her
fortunes, and further the faire fruite of a yet scarce blooming
bud in the blessed bosome of anothers beautie ’ ; & so deliuer-
ing her freely ouer to Sir *Triamore* twixt whom there had beene
afore such settled likeing of likely loue, to the Kinges great con-
tent, the louers full consent, and his owne more furthered intent,
he disposed of the greatest part of his prize : the other feueral

But he resigns
her to Sir *Triam-
ore*, her lover,
sending mean-
while his other
prizes to Eng-
land.

¹ Text, *secret*.

² Text, *deedse*.

³ Text, *alrerady*.

⁴ *tire* !

rewardes he determined to send ouer into *England*, to present to his *Laura*: for whose conueyance he adressed a trustie Esquire of his owne, that from a childe had followed him in all hys actions of honor: where awhile we must leaue him to his further aduentures, and prosecute the presentment of his Prize to his 5 peareles Parramour, which by his Page was quickly performed: who flying with the fauorable fortune of well wishing windes, in shorter space than commonly accompanieth such tired trauellers, arriued in *England* at the olde Earle *Cadors* Court, where was then a Royal assembly of Courtlike company: to whom when it 10 was knowne that there was arriued one ready to tell straunge tydings of the admirable atchiuements of their late fortune finding friends assembled all to gether to heare those welcome wordes into the Earles great Hall: where both himselfe, his daughter and his vnseemely sonne, as also the rest of that Royall resort 15 orderlie placed with attentiuie diligence, quieted themselues to heare expressed these straunge exploits: to whose presence did prease a comely Esquire attended by a [D'] drudging Dwarfie that was loaded with a rich Armour, who after he had in order rendred deseruing duty to euery feuerall assemblant, thus 20 deliuered hys message.

The messenger displays the prizes and reports Lancelot's success.

'Great Earle to whose honor wholly submites it selfe the whole worth of his worke, that from the fierce furie of Alians armes hath brauely borne away these Princely rewards. Grant pardon to my rash resort, and giue licence to my truth telling tongue in 25 few wordes to disclose the especial cause of my hastie comming': and then with the honorable accidents of these worth worthe wars, gins he to paint forth the praises of that famous fight; wherein from the stil flowing force of many furious foes, had his matchles master brauely borne away the home brought booties: Which 30 tale hee so furnished with fitting Epethites and true titles of aduenterous valour, as neuer fung the sweet tuned tongue of heauenly *Tullie* in the famous Capitoll of still renowned Roome, with more applausiue speeches of a truth vrging tale, extolling the eternized honor of those thrice famous aduenterours with 35 the heauen scaling stile of a more than earthly Oration: and then with the blacke tragicke tunes of strange misfortune, such as was the Art framed action of that Thracian Knight, when he described to doleful *Dido* the true story of *Troys* estate: To

whose powerfull speech listned the attentiu eare of that pittymouing Prince of whom we before told, when the happy heauens disperſing now the fable vale of ſad faced ſollie, that ſo long in the darke dungeon of ignominy had lockt vp the happines of his
 5 after hopes, being now able in himſelfe to ſee that which before in another he could not diſcerne, euen as the Eagle after her age caſts her bill, the Serpent ſlides off his ſkin, or the wanton Bucke his harmles head: [D⁴ back] So he, to the great admiration of all thoſe worthy witneſſes, ſuddainely ſtarting at the ſtrange tale
 10 of this well ſpoken Page, griuouſlie bewailed the luckleſſe date of his foreſpent dayes that had ſo ſluggiſhly ouer ſlipt the young yeares of his youthfull iollitie in the fabling fancies of childiſh ſollie: wherein hee neyther had diſcharged the duty of a ſonne, ſatiſfied the honour owing to hys countries ſeruice, nor won the
 15 leaſt part of that worth that by due deſert he ſaw generally attributed to many men of far meaner byrth, & therefore, nowe turning his former fooliſh demeanors to more Princely promiſing endeuours, he ſuddainelie ſollicited his old ſorrow tyred ſire, that hee would thus far further his intent, as to graunt him leaue
 20 a while to forſake his natiue ſoyle, and learne thus to aduenture for honor in far forraine lands, whoſe inſtant intreatie not brooking the deferring of further delay, earneſtly vrged his now more fortunate Father to further ſo his forward Sonne, as that preſently prouiding all ſuch neceſſaries as to him was moſt needefull without
 25 any more meanes made for his bootleſſe abode, ſitly furniſhed him in euery point for ſuch a purpoſe: where euery neceſſary being prouided, and himſelfe now readie to depart, bleſſed with the many praiers of hys ioyfull father to ſee hys forward ſonne recouered from the helples horror of darke ignorance to the
 30 approuing prowefſe of Princely puffance, and with the well willing wiſhes of all his friendly fauorites, he departs his home to ſeeke his ſo long loſt glorie abroad.

Chinon is ſtirred by Lancelot's valour and gets his father's permiſſion to ſeek adventures abroad.

Meane while whileſt thus *Lancelot* had ſent ouer to hys Miſtris the afore named fauors, ſpeedy preparation was prouided
 35 in Fraunce for the ſolemnezing of this Royall marriage betwixt Sir *Triamore* and faire *Celeſtina*: which for that his father then reſi-[E¹]dent vpon his Dukedome was deſirous to content his old conceit with the ſight of his ſonnes marriage, Syr *Triamore* earneſtly intreated of the King, that he would ſo farre further his

Meanwhile Sir Triamore, with the conſent of Celeſtina's father, prepares to return home to Brittain with her and his friends Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram, attended by

many knights
and ladies.

olde fathers request, as to licence their departure home into *Brittanie*, whereto the old King willingly condiscended and most Royally furnished this their ioyfull iourney: whither being attended with sir *Lancelot du-Lake* and sir *Triftram du Lions*, besides many other aswell valiant Knights as beauty brauing 5 Dames, drawen out from the chiefeft choice of all that Countrie, merrily sets forward on their way.

But the Soldan, enraged by the death of his son, hastily gathers an army and lands in Britany, where he besieges the town of Triamore's father.

In the meane time, the Soldan hearing of the disgraced death of his sonne, and certefied by some of his espials of the pretended purpose of these Christian Princes were the onely 10 sharers of that glorie, gins presently to leuy what forces his Countrie in so short a time was able to lend, and imbarking with all speede his Armie, in short time landed all his men vpon the vnhappy Coast of *Britanie*, where orderly incamping themselves about the warlike walls of that strong defended Towne where the 15 Duke with all his attendants kept then a puisant Court for the welcomming of his sonne and his beauteous Bride, cutting off all those conueying passages that leades any way to their neighbour compassing Confines, remoouing all semblance of succor from their longing sight: And being further certefied of 20 the neere approach of that triumphant troope of valiant Victors, that fearing nothing lesse than such trothlesse treason weares out their iourney with such ioy, as experience in farre meaner mens matters proues passing all other pleasure.

By a sudden and unexpected attack the Soldan slays all of Celestina's guard except Lancelot, Triftram, and Triamore, and takes her prisoner.

Whose purpose the subtile Soldan purposing to preuent, in an old 25 ouergrowne wood, scituate some [E¹ back] foure miles from the Citie, silyly inconfes a great Scout both of horse and foote: who as soone as they had encompassed this carelesse company within their ill intending Armes rudely rusht out vpon them: who for becaufe their comming somewhat too sudden in with the other 30 Knights, could hardly prouide to resist their foreplotted purpose, and the numbers so far different, as scarcely might they affoord one Christian to twenty Pagans, whereby they were forced to a furious fight: In which saue onely *Lancelot*, *Triftram*, and *Triamore* all were slaine, and *Celestina*, maugre all their force, 35 conueyed away in the fight. Which when they perceaued, like three inraged Lions amidst the troopes of the Forrests seareful inhabitants, prayes vpon the curfed carkases of these vnchristened Curres, till when no more fuell was left for their fire, no remainder

whereon they might worke their further reuenge, nor any other
subiect for their conquering swords, hope of recouery was past,
because their numbers were too great; the furie of further fight
in vaine, because themselves were too weake; and being desperate
5 almost, what way to take to find reliefe.

Long time they spent in disputing what were best to doo in
this extreame danger, themselves being fore wounded with the
many blowes of their ouer numbred foes, their Armour brused
with the oft falling forces of their Foemens swords, and their
10 weapens almost all broken in this barbarous battell, incites
to their sadde thoughts what secure meanes they might seeke for
their best safeguard.

Being thus left destitute welnigh of all defence, they wandred
vp and downe the vntrodden wayes of those wast woods, one
15 reciting this, another inditing that, and the third misliking both;
till when the [E²] comfortlesse couering of the sad faced night
gins hide away the life ioying fight of the lightsome day, when
these sorrowfull sighing foules wandering in the vnpeopled paths
of these wide woods, spent all that tedious night in tyred trauels,
20 sometimes straying this way, and then stepping that way againe,
till the sorrow of their fower chance had almost quite taken away
the ready remembrance of them selues.

At last, as euery forrowe hath an ende, so had this long night,
and the pleasant spring of the next insuing day gins somewhat
25 cheare vp their troubled mindes from the cruell cares of their
ouer passed paines, when determining with themselves to make
speedy post to euery feuerall Christian Kingdome, and from thence
to leuy such powers of people as should perforce make this
heathen Hel-hound again to render vp to their handes this
30 beauty staining Bride, whom he had so cowardly caught away:
Till wandring together downe the pleasant side of a summer
showing hill they might espy beneath in the broade bottome of
a dismal dale a great worne way, yet not such as accustomedly
are the conueyances of peopled beaten pathes, but as it were the
35 fatall footsteps of some mighty Monster that with his ill fauered
feete had poysoned the sprouting springes of that pleasant Plaine.
Which after they had a long time followed, prying euery way
what this wonder should import, At last they a farre off might
heare the vnaccustomed cryes (as it should seeme) of some

The three
knights plan to
rescue her, and
proceeding on
their way they
pass into a dis-
mal dale and at
length, following
strange cries,
they enter a dark
den.

tormented soule, that beeing grieuouſly afflicted with ſome ſtraunge
 torments made thoſe ruthfull moanes to moue the compaſſionate
 mindes of ſome wayfaring wanderer to deliuer her from that
 great miſerie : which they like two loſt fellowes in a great growne
 woode that, with the reſounding Ecchoes of theyr [E^a back] 5
 lowde ſcrying cries, brings themſelues after long ſearch together
 againe, who liſtning from what likeliest place this ſame might
 growe, at laſt vnder the darke ſhade of a ſheltring Cipreſſe that
 ouerhung the mouth of a craggie Caue (he went out, as it ſhould
 ſeeme, of the big body of a ruinous Rocke) they might perfectly 10
 perceiue the ſame to proceede : Whither poaſting in all haſt,
 ſtriuing who ſhould ſtand in moſt ſted for the releaſe of this
 loſſe ¹ (as they ſuppoſed) rudely they together ran downe without
 regard into this darke Denne, who, as ſoone as they were in,
 from out the darke couert of another cabbining Caue ſlept forth 15
 a mightie Monſter, framed with the deceitfull face of a faire
 woman, but the big body of a ſubtill Serpent, whoſe poyſon
 ſwolne bowelles bearing the breadth of a mighty Tunne was ſup-
 ported with the ioyntles legs of a Caſtle carrying Elephant, hands
 had ſhe in forme like a man, but in the ſubſtance of her frame 20
 more than a monſter, a tayle that Serpent like catcheth in the
 vnprouided trauailers, her backe ſtrongly fenced with broad
 buckling ſcales, that proudly oppoſes it ſelfe gainſt the tough-
 eſt ſteele, her force more than could be comprehended within the
 reach of a reaſonable conceit : for ſhe (after her Crokadile com- 25
 plaints ſhe had) drawing the harmeleſſe Knight[s] into that ſubtill
 ſnare, quickly rouses vp againſt the mouth of the hole a mightie
 ſtone, which the force of many men could not els remooue, and
 ſo, locking in theſe well meaning men within the compaſſe of
 her loathſome Denne, ſhee leaues them to the comfortleſſe con- 30
 ſort of their nowe almoſt cureleſſe cares.

Hereupon a
 huge monſter
 with the face of a
 woman and the
 body and tail
 of a ſerpent
 ſuddenly ap-
 pears and rolls
 a huge ſtone
 againſt the
 mouth of the
 cave.

¹ See note.

[E^s]

CHAP. IIII.

How Chinon after his transformation from his foolishnes betooke himselfe to seek for forraine aduentures, and after how hee encountred Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram in a Forrest, where hapned a straunge aduenture, and how Chinon pulled a sword from an inchaunted Rocke of stone.

5

By this had *Chinon* crossed the Seas out of his owne cuntry, and arived in *Fraunce* where hee neuer came before, and himselfe yet ignorant in the course of trauaile wandred vp & downe a long time, seeking some worthy work wheron he might make triall of his strength. But for that the desolate Coasts bordering vpon the sea side afforded no matter for his manly courage, after he had there spent some fewe dayes, he takes a new course of
15 trauell ouer the vntrodden hilles into the bosome of the next bounding Country.

Which weary way, for that his horse being young [E^s back] and not yet vsed to the hard hap of aduentures himselfe, euen as a childe that, newe sprung from his cradle, can hardly counter-
20 uail the worlds weary works, so fared it with this new Knight, who was greedy of glorie but vnfit to finde it: yet hoping of better hap, drawes out his iourney ouer many high hilles, and then settles hee downe into the melancholly shade of deepe darkened valleys, wher before neuer footed any earthly creature,
25 faue foule Serpents, no noyfe but the sorrowfull sound of the ill boading Owls, no light faue the glimmering of a little beame that shining through the transparant leaues of blacke Cypresse boughs showed him some comfort amidst this more than the shadow of death: No meate could hee come by, faue such as
30 that vnfruitful earth did afford, nor drinke faue the troubled streames of an vnpleasant spring, that mixed with the vnholosome sorts of deade dropping leaues full of the filthy slime of sluggish Toades, and many such vnholosome creatures: his Bedde the ouergrowne mosse vpon the side of the mountaine; his pillowe
35 the toppe of an vneuen stone; his couering nothing faue the

Meanwhile, Chinon has ar-
rived in France
and wanders in
search of adven-
tures.

ouershadowing bowes of age trembling trees; his nightly sleepes often affrighted with the hissing of many foule snaks, vnacustomable antomes to his eares: yet as he that will trauell vpon the sea must addresse himselfe to abide the trouble of euery storme; hee that will enioy the sweet content of felicitie, must needes vndergo all the hard haps of enuious aduersitie; so he that wil in this spacious world seeke the aduantage of Honour must beare bafe direction of vnseemely misfortune.

By chance he wanders toward the vale where the knights are imprisoned,

So this yong Prince after hee had long time wandred thus without the direction of any way, at length espies a far off 10 a chalkie path, scaling the top of a high hill, whether with much adoe at length he came vnto, [E⁴] and after he had long time climed vpon the side of this mount, at length with many wearie steps he attains the toppe, from whose height hee might againe looke backe at his ouerspent iourney: following a longe while 15 the broad tract of that beaten way, presentlie he came to a narrow cut of passage out of the side of a flintie Rocke, where the high hill steepe ore his head troubles the course of the winde wandring cloudes, beneath the lowlie bottome of a blacke dismall Dale, filled with the furious force of aspyring springs that, 20 working from the wombe of the sea, euen vnto the highest toppe of that mightie Promontany, breaks out againe, and with a fierce fall downe into the dismall Dales makes such a hidious noyse as when the vnbridled force of the ouerflowing sea breakes downe the boundes of his neighboring bankes and drownes all the 25 nere placed plaines with his euer-working waters: Yet *Chinon*, still hoping that after showers at length would come a funne; after woes, weale; & after these hard passages, pleasanter plaines, with as much patience as hee could, ouergoes this grieve he had, and gins at last to see the farther side of his wearie way: 30 from whence looking downe, hee might espie a more pleasant dale; whether descending by a downe falling path that went into the bottome of a Hill he gladly at length attained, and there in a more fresher and pleasanter streame than before of a long time hee had met withall hee some what refreshes him- 35 selfe, and beeing content with such fruit as that soyle did afforde him, hee goes forward on hys iournie, still searching for that hee coulde not finde: At last he came as hee thought to the mouth of some Caue that was fullie filled vp with the stronge bulke of

and before the cave sees the huge stone with

a mightie bigge stone, whose hugeneffe was such as could not be remouued by the might of manie [E⁴ back] men, where, in olde, almost outworne letters, were these lines ingrauen.

an inscription
in verse.

*In prifon here a puisant wight,
Betraied by cunning craft now lies :
Whence no man but a maiden Knight
Can free him from his miferies,
Whofe firft tried valour muft affay,
To rid this wretched man away.*

10 Which when he had red and curiously confidered, gins to
refolue with himfelf to affay whether his fortune should bee
fo good as to performe this feruice, where looking round about
for him that did heere in a peremptorie painted challenge keepe
the paffage of that place, where this Knight whereof mention
15 was there made is by subtilltie inclofed, at laft fodainelie, but
from whence he faw not, there was a huge deformed Monster,
fuch as before he feldome or neuer had feene, whose shape
neyther imported the proportion of man nor beaft, but a mixture
of them both; from foorth the furnace of whose fierie bellie
20 iffues, like the afhes of *Aetna*, many cloudie mifts of darke fmoke,
that almoft smothered this famous follower of hardy deedes
before he began the fight; and in this Fogge, armed with the
bulke of a young fpringing Oake, the fell force of whose fall had
beene fufficient to haue ground him a funder, gins vnawares to
25 affaile him: which when he perceaued, nimbly leaping backe to
efchue the heauy froke, prepared in as fhort fpace as he could
to prouide himfelfe for this fray, but ere he could be in euery
point armed, gins againe this mon-[F¹]fter the fecond time to
affault him, which he in the beft fort he could deuife fought
30 meanes to efcape, for to vndergoe it he could not: and then,
nimbly conueying himfelfe within the ende of his mighty weapon,
with his well tempered fworde gins affay to worke vpon the
Monster, but all in vaine, for fo ftrongly was it euery where
buckled with inconfing fcales, as no more entrancè was
35 affoorded for his fword then if he had ftroken vpon the hard
face of a flinty Rocke; when the fubtle ferpent with a fodaine
turne gaue the Knight fuch a heauy blowe with the poyfoned
weight of her ftrong tayle as perforce beat him downe to the

Presently he is
confronted by
a monster and
has to fight for
his life.

The fight is long
and furious,

grounde and almost banished the breath from his body: But hee, mindfull of what hee had in hande, to encounter so vnnaturall an enemie, long lyes not in that case, but nimble rousing vp himselfe againe gins freshly to assaile his enemie: who, still threatning him with the bigg blowes of his vniwieldy weapon, 5 puts him euery way to his shift how he might best shun them.

At last spying a fit oportunitie, he with his sword indeuoured to cut asunder her vnacustomed kinde of weapon, which in short time he performed, so that now free meanes he had for to assay what he could doo vpon her vniwieldy body: But all his 10 labour was lost, for so safely was shee garded from all entrance, as not the keenest steele the smoakie *Cyclops* forged for the mighty God of wrathfull warre could euer enter into her: when hee, troubled at once with two illes, the furious force of her serpentine taile, which now prooues her best weapen, and the 15 brimstone flaming which still issued out at the Furnace of her fiery mouth.

but suddenly
the monster
vanishes, the
stone is rolled
away, and the
three imprisoned
knights emerge,
released from
their dungeon.

At the last after much labour, the weary Knight, tyred almost with this tedious toyle, gins somewhat [F¹ back] to returne backe, to the end he might recouer againe his nie lost breath; 20 which flight for that the Serpent did not with such eager force pursue, as she was wont to doe in the beginning of their fight, hee made longer stay to recouer thereby better strength, & then as two furious fighting Stagges that fetching a farre flight, thereby to encounter with more force, begins againe these new 25 olde enuies and with their furious blowes so plagued one another, as if the opposition of two great Armies had sent the noyse of their battering Armes from euery resounding echo: till at length after the many fierce assaults of the furious Knight, hys foyled enemie in a sudden as she came, vanishes away, which he 30 suspecting but to be some diuelish deuise, with an intent to set vpon him againe at vnawares, gins circumspectly to prie into euery corner, to the end he might be sure that no intrapping ambushes of her hobgoblin companions might priuily lurk to insnare his life; when vnwares he perceaued the mighty stone so 35 meruailously laid ouer the Caue of it selfe to roule away, and from forth the hole issues out three goodly Knights, two whereof he knew for hys Countrymen and olde acquaintance; but the thirde, which was a stranger, he neuer saw before; these wer

they of whome we said afore were by the subtyll shifte of
a deceauing Syren cunningly compassed in that Caue : where
when Syr *Lancelot du Lake* and hys fellow *Tristram* saw *Chinon*,
that at their departure from *England* they left foolissh in their
5 friendes & his fathers house, miraculously transformed to
a valiant Knight, and so luckily there arriued for their reliefe,
no maruaile if with admiration theyr woondering wittes were
drawne into a laborynth of such deepe conceites, how this might
come to passe ; that beeing amazed as were those stonẽ turned
10 people, which ga-[F²]zing vppon *Gorgons* heade, coulde hardly
beleuee in their mindes what was so liuely presented to their
eyes, till *Chinon* perceiuing their passion gins thus to waken
them from their drowfie and sluggishe dreame.

‘ Fellowes in Armes ’ (quoth hee) ‘ the very reporte of whose
15 valour hath from the heauy weight of obscure follie rowfed
my deade drooping thoughtes to the liuely remembrance of
a higher mounting mind, not happier shall you be in this your
release than I in bringing you reliefe; in that the succeßion
of after growing ages shall eternize my name for the opening of
20 this worfe than hellissh mouth, and for the vanquishing of that
more than miraculous Monster, for that by the one I againe re-
stored to the world two such valiant Knights, and by the other,
rid them of a pestilent plague.

‘ Stand not in a maze, for I am the man that lately you left in
25 a world of follie, but now, by the power of prouident heauen,
raised from that deiection.’ At last *Lancelot* (ouercloied with ioy
to see him thus fortunate, that whilome was so foolissh) regreetes
his good hap with many ioyfull wordes, such as commonlie passe
betwixt long parted friends at their vnexpected meeting, and then
30 sir *Tristram* likewise salutes hys honorable aduenture, with the
many great thankes and good wisshes of like future good fortune :
then sir *Triamore*, for that he himselfe altogether vnacquainted
with *Chinon*, although hee had often heard hys friendes, and then
followers in Armes, with mickle grieffe to relate the wofull case
35 wherein they left such a Prince as there they named in *England* :
yet hee begins to enquire of sir *Lancelot* the whole passed storie
of hys friendes estate, who with ioy repeating, what oft with
forrow hee had seene performed, [F² back] gins certefie him in
euery point according to h[i]s asking, which when sir *Triamore*

Chinon now
relates to the
astonished
knights the story
of his transforma-
tion from a
lumpish dolt
to a valiant
knight.

Thereupon suddenly appears a troop of fairies with Oboram their king, who tells the knights that he had taken the shape of a monster to prove Chinon's prowess.

vnderstoode that hee was a Knight of comely carriage and curteous demeanor, he forthwith, with many gentle greetings and more thanks to heauen and him for their happy deliuerie, vowed vnto him all the honor of his actions: Who long professing kindly friendshippe and duteous indeuor, to deferue this more 5 then common curtesie, they were presented with a troope of Fairies, mongst whome was *Oboram* there King, who especially choosung *Chinon* from the rest, began with many wordes of wonder to commend his Cheualry, for that last being his first Combate he had so valiantly behaued himself, as had all 10 the chiefe choise of powerfull Christendome stroue with themselves to haue exceeded his worth, their Forces all ioyned in one, in respect of him, had beene none: And then turning to the rest of the Knights, tolde them that the Monster by whose deuise they were there deceaued was no other than himselfe, who, for 15 the desire he had to approue the Prowesse of this newe come Knight, vndertooke that shape, in requitall of which wrong he had prouided a costly sword, which by his Art was fastned within the close binding body of a strong Rocke, and he of them that should stoutly pull it out should for his paines inioy a Jewell of 20 rich price: which sword was artificially framed for *Iulius Caesar*, by the cunning craft of a mighty Magitian inhabiting within the desolate places of those darke vallies, and for that it so pleased the great Director of all mens dealinges that that worke should come to naught, for that the valiant *Romane* was before the per- 25 fection thereof vnluckily slaine in the Senate, hee had closely referued it to another vse: But who that should be of al them foure (of which by necessity must [F^s] needs bee one) that as yet was not knowne to himselfe; and then leading them through the darke shades of many light lacking vaultes, shewing them the 30 seacrets of his close couched Kingdome, bound up within the bowels of the earth: whether when they were a little descended they might partly see armies of many little Elues come posting towards him, as speciall attendants on his traine, whose buisie fingers woulde gladly haue beene pinching theyr wearie legges, 35 for higher they coulde not reach: but that forbidden by the great charge of their commaunding King, they durst not aduenture it againe.

He then leads them through the passages of his underground realm, thronged with countless elves ready to do his bidding, and at length shows them a magic sword which shall be his who can draw it out of the rock.

Thus after their long walke in those close kept countries, hee

brought them at length into a broade vale, in midst whereof was grauen vp a mighty ragged Rocke, wherein was a faire fashioned sword curiously contriued of many fundry mettals, which should seeme by some or other meanes to haue beene stroken therinto, where this fairie King told them they were all to approue their forces at the pulling of it, and he whose lot it should be to win it, for his pains should alwaies were it, whose temperature was so good as would clearely cut a sunder what euer stone, mettall, or any harder obiect was opposed against it; the vertue this, that whosoever wore it shoulde neuer be assailed by base crosbiting of anie flie deceitful Inchanter.

And thus with many words extolling the excellencie of the thing, and promising good fortune to them whosoever should attaine it, Hee first appoints Syr *Lancelot* who, as greedie of this goodly weapon as a hungrie hauke of her pray, stoutly steps forth, and laying hold of the sword with a maine force, offering to vn sheath it, could nothing at all remoue it. The next was sir *Tristram*, and he also offering to doe his [F³ back] endeavour therein was also at the first expelled. Next him steps *Triamore*, but his force as feeble as the rest let stand still that for which they also stroue: till *Chinon*, taking sure hold vpon the hilt, with one hand did more than they were able to effect with all their power: which when he had done, brandishing it about hys head, as promising therewith to worke some extraordinarie wonders, he straight waies by *Oborams* direction was presented with a rich Armour and all necessarie furniture thereunto belonging, borne by two little Elues, which he straight put on, and then girding himselfe with his new got sword, makes all possib[le] speede to returne as one longing to approue what those rich habilliments did promise: to whome *Oboram* after a long oration of much prefiguring valour and valiant exploytes by him to bee performed, with many offered assurances of what readie helpe rested in his power to performe, 'Whereof', quoth he, 'thou shalt ere long stand in need,' giues him further, a faire shield, composed by the cunning of a famous Inchantres, wherein was in rich mettall curiously engrauen a statelye flintie Rocke, shiuered in peeces by the power of a naked man, vnder which in letters of gold was engrauen this posie, '*Nihil difficile*', & appointing him a Page of his owne bringing vp, a little ill fauored Eluish Dwarfie, but

All three try in vain, but Chinon with one hand easily pulls it out, and Oboram at once presents him with rich armour, a shield and an 'Eluish Dwarfie' as a page.

truſty at all affayes, commits him to the keeping of good fauoring fortune, till time and his neceſſity ſhall againe bring them together.

[F⁴]

CHAP. V.

Chinon learns of the miſhaps of the three knights and plans with Triamore to reſcue Celeſtina.

How Chinon and Triamore redeemed Celeſtina from the Soldan of Babilon, after a moſt ſtrange maner, with other Noble achievements that they performed in the ſame exploit.

5

Thus in a fodaine trance they being back againe conueyed to the place whence he firſt led them: where they then beginne 10 to acquaint him with all the manner of their triumph in France, the loſſe of their Lady, the victory of the Pagan, & what els ill hap had betyded them ſince theyr departure from the King of Frances Court, which tragick tale ſo whetted the longing luſt of this peareleſſe Prince, to reuenge the iniuries of thoſe his ſo 15 happy met mates, as that he ſtraight gins to deuife how hee might beſt worke ſome ſpeedy meanes for her deliuerie¹ that nowe was cloſelie pent vp in delights, farre more worſe vnto her than darke Dungeons: [F⁴ back] which with many hammering plots At length hee thus purpoſed to bring to 20 paſſe.

‘Thou *Triamore*,’ quoth hee, ‘for that by thy default this Lady ſo vnluckely loſt her libertie, ſhalt venture with me thus to recouer her, and theſe my friendes ſhall in a nother ſort employ themſelues as I will direct them: then ſeeing thy yeares are yet 25 young, thy face louely, and euery well faſhioned part of thy body fit to further our intent, thou ſhalt take vpon thee the ſhape of ſome inchantres; I & my dwarffe trimmed vp in other apparrell will attend vpon thee as dilligent ſeruants, which thou ſhalt pretend thou imployeſt in ſuch ſecret affaires as none ſaue ſuch 30 ſimple ſlaues will abide to beare: where thou ſhalt vndertake to procure the liking of faire *Celeſtina*, to affect him which for that no welcommer newes can come to his beſotted minde than the ſound of ſuch ſeruice, he will eaſily conſcend to doe any thing that thou ſhalt direct him to: which beeing done, 35

¹ Text, *deliliuerie*.

leauē the rest to my disposition, and in the meane time these
 my ancient friends shall whilst we worke within attende here
 without, and the next night when the Queene of shades gins in
 her quiet rule to dimme the glimering shew of lesser lights, in some
 5 secrete place that thou (for that the best cannot direct vs in this
 cuntrie) shalt appoint to attend our comming; where for the next
 dayes arise we will worke a deede of such worth as shall eternize
 our honour in all ages, and make vnborne Children hereafter to
 repeat what exceeding valour we, for our Christian Countrie,
 10 (ouerloaden with the hatefull burden of barbarous Pagans) per-
 formed; and then instructing them throughly in euery point of
 his purpose, and carefully prouiding to take away euery obstacle
 of aduerse suspection that might any waies be a hindrance to their
 well intended pur-[G¹]pose, they meeting all againe on their sturdie
 15 Steedes rides forth till they came neare to the place whereas the
 Pagan with all his Armie lay, and there in the same place wher
 by treason they were surpris'd staies *Lancelot* and *Tristram* in a
 thicke Castell, couered ouer with thicke leaued hollie, where they
 might easly throwd themselves from the sight of all passengers:
 20 whilst *Chinon*, *Triamore*, & hys Dwarfie sets boldly forward to
 execute the fore plotted purpose; who, comming into the Campe,
 made it straight knowne to some of the Soldans nearest atten-
 dantes what they were, *Triamore* pretending himselfe to be (as
 afore we told) an Inchauntresse, that was come from far to
 25 further the loue of the great Soldan to faire *Celestina*: Which
 newes, when it was told him, founded no lesse pleasant in hys
 eares than *Aue Caesar* at his Coronation; where charging them
 straight to be brought to hys prefence, he gins to question with
Triamore of his skill, posing him in the relation of kings¹
 30 past as how, when, and where he first surpris'd that Lady:
 which *Triamore*, for that himselfe was an vnfortunate acter
 in that dolefull Tragedy, could in euery point fitly answere
 him: which the Pagan, simply attributing to hys great skill,
 giues thanks to hys gods that in so good time had thither
 35 directed the skilfull Inchantresse, by whose meanes he hoped
 not onely to enioy hys new ioyles loue but also to performe
 such prodigious exployts as should redound to the eternal

Triamore takes
 the disguise of
 an enchantress
 come to induce
Celestina to love
 the Soldan.

¹ See note.

dishonour of all Christan Countries, and then begins to question with him about the recouerie of his loue.

Triamore induces the Soldan to arrange a secret meeting with Celestina in a wood outside the camp.

Triamore, with a fine forged tale, gins tell him that if he would but practise such meanes as he should appoint, he would so Inchaunt the louely minde of that fayre Christian Princeesse to affect hym as mauger al [G¹ back] the mallice of whatsoever opposing power, she should forsake father and friends, kinsfolks and Countrie, & only bind herselfe to tarrie with him.

Which foule pleasing sound did ring such sweete musicke in his rude eares as that he with all speede willed her but to determine what was herein to bee done, and he with asmuch expedition would fully effect, if it were to the losse euen of halfe his Kingdome.

'Then,' quoth *Triamore*, 'this night hath *Cinthia* filled fullie vp her emptie hornes, whose fauorable aspects will fitly further our purpose: when therefore the silent night hath shut the eyes of euery watchfull creature, thou, thy loue, and my selfe must by some such meanes as thou shalt best appoint, be conueyed secretly from the Campe into the bosome of a neare bordering wood, where wee may clearely see all the course of the ceasles frames of neuer resting heauen: where I with my inuocations and forcesiue Magick spels will so Inchaunt the minde of thy beauteous loue as hencefoorth shee shall neuer affect any other faue thy selfe;' and then pretending to prepare such necessarie furniture as should fit her purpose, she desired that her selfe and her seruants might a while bee remooued into some secret place, where they might prouide all thinges fit for their purpose, and where they might have some speech with the Damsel, which was speedily done: for a secret seruant nerely belong[ing] to the Soldan was appointed to direct them, where by themselues they had free talk with faire *Celestina*: to whome *Triamore* begins to relate all that had hapned them since their inforcesiue departure, with the happie aduenture of *Chinon* for their deliuerie, and what els had befallen them in that trauel: and then comforts her with the hope of escape, by theyr thus [G²] plotted purpose: where long they were repeting their ouerpassed paines and reioycing in their hoped happines, till time approached of their departure: when the Soldan, not vnmindefull of this matter, sent to

The disguised Triamore explains the plan to Celestina. The Soldan going to the wood with his chief captains is captured by the three knights and his followers slain. Celestina gives all the credit to Chinon.

the Sorcerer to see if all thinges were readie for their purpose : which affirmed that thee was orderly prouided.

At last the latestt houre is come, when he calling together all the chiefeft of his Captaines & acquaints them with the cause, 5 which tended so much to the furtherance of his desire, & intreating the most of them that they would walke with him out into the next adioyning wood to be witnesfes of this work : to whom they willingly condescended, & then, gathering themselues together, after the watch was set, they secretly departed : where 10 the Soldan, stil thinking on the inioying of his loue, neuer dreampt of any pretended treason that might thereby infue ; but greedily catching like a foolish fish at the golden baite, they still followe on theyr way till they were come to the place where *Lancelot* and *Tristram* lay hid : where *Chinon* casting off 15 his disfiguring maske begins now to shew himselfe in his owne likenes, and, with a watch word calling for his fellowes, brauely sets vpon these their enemies : where in short time they had sent to hell all the rest, saue the Soldan himselfe, and taking him prisoner, carries him away bounde : when *Triamore*, now once 20 againe reuelling in the treasury of his loue, gins with all humble submission attribute to the honour of *Chinon* all the fore passed prooffe of this their fortunate seruice which they had performed.

But *Celestina*, that nowe like the *Thracian* Damofell returned with the Lorde of her loue from the dismall Gates of Hell, be- 25 ginnes with the [G² back] teares of true ioy to prostrate her selfe at his honorable feete whose force had againe restored her from the tedious slauerie of loathsome captiuitie to the pleasant prefence of life feeding libertie, vowing deuoted seruice for this her second life : But *Chinon*, disdayning that the foule 30 faced earth shoulde enioy so much as a touch of her heavenly hew, with gentle intreatie rayfes her vp, and thus replied to her suppliant speech.

'Fairer', quoth he, 'than is the common composition of earthly creatures, and therfore of more worth than millions, 35 if I haue ought done in this that hath bred thy content, it is no more than befeemeth the dutie of my degree : Then doe not thus attribute more honor for my meede than is due by deserts to my deed : more is thy smile towards the reward of a well deseruing worke, than the rich rewards of many millions of an others voves,

Chinon modestly disclaims the honour in a high-flown speech and turns her to *Triamore*, her lover.

more pleasant is the sight of an houres funne, than the show of twenty shadowed daies: but thy sight exceeding the brightest shining funne, that dazels at the mid dayes height the pearcing beames of euery bright eyes sight, more welcome to vs than day to the wearie watch, or the repose of a quiet Inne to a tyred 5 trauailer, gracest our paines with thy presence. More worth is his worke that rifles in the rich bowels of the gold growne earth than hee that drudges in the bottome of a dunghill ditch, and yet the last labor is more than the first: but that the subiect exceeding in worth excels the reward of his work more than the trauaile 10 graces the thing: but the worth of the subiect dignifies the desert of the deede, whereby our credit by thee is maintayned, and not thy matchles selfe by our might magnified.

‘Looke on hym that for thy loue aduentured his life, and the rewarde of my paynes is this, that they re-[G^s]dound to thy 15 pleasure; and for thee *Triamore*, sith now againe thou hast thy hearts content, remember the estate of thy old father, as thou toldest mee, is compassed within the circle of yonder befeedged walles, still expecting the speedy help of his forward friends: but yet hath this nights worke so weakned hys foes as that there 20 is no doubt of further danger.’

All danger now being past, Chinon proposes returning to England with Lancelot, Tristram, and the captive Soldan, after conveying Celestina and Triamour to their fathers court’.

By this with such like chat had they chafed awaie the fable show of this silent night, and next the sunne gins with cheareful countenance to looke vpon the honorable actes of their thrife prayse worthy exployts, when by this time they were wandred 25 farre from the place where they first gaue the onfet to atchiue this honour: where *Chinon*, calling to him his two countrymen, giues this carefull charge:

‘You two,’ quoth he, ‘whose honors accents is euerie where blazed for your valours, shal hencefoorth leaue these wandring 30 wayes, and returne with me into our Countrie: where I will present to my longing Father this Pagan Prince, the first fruits of my Mayden manhood, dooing all my humble dutie to hys Honorable age: but first in safety let vs conueye these Fayre friends to their fathers Court and set them there safe from further 35 sorrow at home that haue sustained the hard brunt of fell misfortune abroad, where may as many pleasures attend them there in peace as honorable accidents happen to me in warres.’

[G^s back]

CHAP. VI.

Of Chinons retourne into England accompanied with Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram, with their most honorable entertainment there.

- 5 After that hee had thus aduentured for the reccuerie of
 beauteous *Celestina* from the handes of the Soldan, that had
 traiterously tane her away from Syr *Triamore*, & sent them home
 to her fathers Court to solemnize their marriage, *Lancelot*,
Tristram and himselfe tooke the direct way that led them home into
 10 theyr own country, that there they might in quiet tell those thinges
 with pleasure amongst theyr friendes which they had in trouble
 performed with labour amongst their foes: In which iournie no
 occasion of further let encountered them anie more, but as fareth
 with ordinary trauailers, they peaceable passe ouer their iournie
 15 till they came home into Cornewall to Earle *Cadors* Court, that
 was not a little glad to see the retourne of his sonne, with good
 hap to answere the long expectation of hys faire hope, [G⁴] he
 entertaines them with such curtesie, as commonly passe betwixt
 loft friends at theyr vnacquainted meetings.
- 20 *Chinon*, discoursing to hys old father the storie of their trauailes,
 whose very wordes breeds new life in the dried sinnowes of hys
 old limmes: as doeth the approaching sunne cherrish the
 decayed winter worne strength of the earths increafe. *Lancelot*,
 hee presents to hys loue the Trophies of his victorie, with many
 25 perfwasions how for her loue hee had aduentured his life in
 winning those Princely Prizes, the chiefe whereof (whose worth
 exceeded all except herselfe) he had bounteously bestowed vpon
 sir *Triamore*; *Tristram*, he followes on his friends with the
 praises of them both: first, how by their meanes the Lady was
 30 atchiued: then, how by *Chinon*^a deuise she was secondly attained,
 with all the whole History of their former fortunes: where
 what ioy was generally receaued, as well of the King himselfe,
 whose¹ life still lasts in the euerliuing acts of succeeding ages,
 famoused as much for the renowne of his round table, as *Alcides*

The wanderers
 are receiued
 with joy, and
 even King
 Arthur summons
 his court to do
 honour to
 Chinon.

¹ Text, and her, that whose, see note.

for his twelve labors, *Iason* for his iournie to *Calcos*, or the Greekes for their triumphes at Troy.

Hee now in the winter of hys waning age, affecting to heare that now of others which before in his youth he had effected the like himselfe, welcomes home all these wearie wanderers, that had 5 beene so long abroad, writing in the Registers of other realmes the courage of their own country : as also the poore inhabitants of this [h]appy¹ Kingdome, that ioyed to see their neighboring lands dispoyled of such riche rewardes as was brought home by their countrymen. Thus, when euery man had filled his eares 10 with the report, *Arthur*, willing also to further the courage of this young Caualeer, summons a [G⁴ back] solemne meeting of all the Nobles and Peeres of his country to his Court : where when at the time apointed all were gathered together, the King at a Royall banket gins to declare the cause of this their calling together, 15 that themselfes should see how Princely he had, and would still pay the rewards of such deserts as by the aduentures of their yong countryman *Chinon* had beene prosperously performed, and then with Epethites, accents of honour, telling the victorious tale of his fight, as *Aeneas* the Tragicke storie of their flight, he con- 20 cludes hys speech with the performance of hys promise, which was the solemne orders he commonly vsed at the instalment of any of his Knights ; and, dubbing him, therewithall appoints him his place at the Table, where a while he remained, as well to comfort the decaying date of his Fathers yeares, whome 25 wrefling age had almost now layed along in hys graue ; and as the Mariegold that neuer spreadeth her flowers but against the funne, So he neuer opened his age dimmed eyes to beholde the chearefull countenance of any creature saue his Son *Chinon* ; and like the melancholly Turtle when her mate is from her sight, 30 So fares it with this aged Earle, that neuer sleepest but dreames of hys Sonne, neuer is well waking when he sees him not, & neuer contented with any sounds if he heare him not : as also the intire affection of hys King and Captaine *Arthur* of England that, inamored with his curtesie, was lo[th]² to leaue hys company, 35 he was forced a while to refraine his affections, whose body though³ it was walled in at home, yet was his minde wandring

King Arthur
dubs Chinon a
knight at the
banquet and
gives him a
place at the
Round Table,
while Earl
Cadur now
adores his
valiant son.

¹ Text, *pappy*!

² Text, *loft*.

³ Text, *thought*.

abroad : which the fates foreseeing, (as do the careful Parents
prouide for their forward children) seeke meanes for theyr fur-
therance in that quallitie whereto they are most inclined, loath
that so many vertues [H¹] should be cooped within the compasse
5 of a fillie Iland, and not spread their braunches abroad to the
wide world, carefully contriued a meanes to conuaye hym away.

CHAP. VII.

*How Chinon was by the Fairies
conuained into Egypt.*

Thus hee, spending the pride of his dayes at home in daliance,
10 letting rust [e]ate¹ away his well tempered Armour that warres
before had scoured, lying one day vpon a pleafant ouerspread
banke, vnder the couert of a nature framed Canopie, bound
together with the bowes of sweet smelling rofes, vpon whose
pleafant spraises fate the feuerall sorts of musicke making birdes,
15 that with theyr naturall notes calles on inchaunting sleep to
posseffe the quiet organes of his body with all pleafing rest, in the
midst of a sweet slumber suddainely appeares to the view of his
drowfie thoughts two airie bodies, such creatures as we call
Fairies, whome some [H¹ back] imagine² to be those spirites that
20 fell downe vpon the earth, and since that time inhabit the
feuerall corners thereof, sometimes deluding mens senses with the
shewes of that they are not : other, somtimes showing themfelues
in the semblances they commonly accustome to put on, dancing
roundelays ouer the plefaunt meades, searing the secrete
25 corners of euerie shade : in which fort it should seeme they found
thys Knight, to whom they gan shewe a rich embrodered armour,
curiously carued and richly fet with all manner of precious stones,
and a faire sword with all the formall furniture thereunto belong-
ing, farre passing that which before he had pulled out of the
30 Rocke, and therewithall ginnes feed his fancie, that they
nourished his imagination in the perfectest ioye of all naturall
delight, with the show of a faire Virgin, whose rare countenance

While Chinon
is leading an
easy life, he is
one day visited
in his sleep by
fairies, who
show him rich
armour and also
a fair virgin,
daughter of Bes-
sarian, coun-
sellor of the
King of Egypt.

¹ Text, *cate*.

² The syllable *im-* ends page H¹ back, and is repeated in *imagine*.

promised more than her outward colour of attire, for that meane were her weeds, such as commonly we read of the *Arcadian* Shepheardeffes, whose perfections haue put to silence so many pens in labouring to portraitt their picture. But her selfe, more than a mortall Maid, looked vppon with the impartial censure of 5 a iudging eye, might draw into an endlesse Laborynth the labouring thoughts of an indeuoring wit, striuing with it selfe to picture forth her worth. Where awhile we must leaue him *Endimion*-like spending his time in this sweete speculation, and for a time talke of this rare sight here showed hym in his sleep. 10

This fair maid Cassiopeia is vainly loved by Perosus, and he thereupon enlists the services of an old witch who conveys her through the air far away to a lonely plain beside the Nile. Here she sits and sings to the fishes.

This Ladie was daughter to an ancient Lord named *Bessarian*, cheif Counsellor to *Egbatan* then King of *Egypt*, and was there earnestly beloued of a noble Man named *Perosus*, who for that he saw by no way he could compasse his desire, neither by amorous demeanor of himselfe, instance of his frends, nor ear- 15 [H²]nest solliciting deserts of his dumb intermissiue gifts, could preuaile to drawe towards him the dutye of her loue, he determining by another drift ether to win her to himselfe or to weare her out of conceit with all other, secretly gins worke with an old Witch, whose name was *Eutropa*, who, hyred by him, hammered 20 about to work some meane how she might change the settled affections of her maidenlyke minde somewhat to encline themselves to his intent: which when by no meanes she could bring about, she straight works a way to remoue her quite from all companie, to liue on the vnpeopled Plaines among brute beasts; 25 and to that ende aiming her actions, by meanes of an ayrie Spirit attendant vppon her, suddenly conueyed her from the Courtly prefence farre off to an vnfrequented Plaine, scituate by the Riuer *Nylus*, where shee perceiuing her selfe displaced, but seeing no reason of her remooue, straitwaies begins to consider 30 with her selfe what luckles occasion might thus crosse her in her hopefull course, and when after long searck in the selfe known records of her inward conscience, shee could finde no readie reason, how her offences should anie wayes haue procured so great a punishment as this vnnaturall diuorfe, not onely from the 35 comfort of her kindred but all other frends, hauing with all humble dutie alwaies honored her superiors & wyth carefull curtesie intreated her inferiors; beeing euer held as the myrour of good demeanor. And thus finding her selfe as cleare from

those vengeance-meriting finnes that drawes downe the heauie
 wrath of all-iudging Gods so sharply with such feuere plagues to
 punish the offences of men, shedding manie showers of amber
 teares, whose power were able to haue drawne pittie from the
 5 steely hearts of hell-holden furies, sits her downe by the side of
 that siluer streame [H³ back] that with his seauen heads still sends
 fresh supplie to the all eating sea, and tuning her voice to the
 bubling musick of his gliding course, & to the flocking sortes of
 sundry fishes, that like the dancing Dolphins at the sweete sound
 10 of *Arions* Harpe gather themselues together,

She singes this Dittie.

*Ye free borne people from th' inthralling bands,
 That we poore soules perforce are subiect to:
 You glide with pleasure ore these golden sands,
 15 And feeles no hope of weale nor hap of woe.
 Time, fortune, foes, nor any other power,
 Changes, casts downe, or turnes your sweet to fower:
 But we whome nature wrought vnto the best,
 Triumphant time still tosses vp and downe:
 20 And they whome former fortune whilome blest,
 Cruell misfortune with a suddaine frowne:
 Casts from a throane where sur'st we seeme to dwell,
 To worser woes than death, dispaire, or hell.*

Thus whilest with this song shee fought to please her sorrow, The witch up-
 25 sodainely this wicked woman (by whose meanes shee was brought braids her for
 thether) carried through the emptie aire in fierie flaming care, rejecting the
 such as was that secret searching *Medea*, amidst the fable shadow love of Perosus
 of the silent night, ouerroad so many tops of hilles to finde those and tells her she
 hearbes that in the age worne limmes of a bloodles man cals must remain in
 30 backe fresh spring to keep againe his residence in that body: who, exile till she
 presenting her selfe vnto her in the accustomed shape at other relents.
 times shee vsually shewed her selfe, begins at her first entrance [H³]
 to disclose vnto her the manner of translation from her father
 and friends vnto these peopleles plaines, confessing her selfe both
 35 to be Author and actor of this diuellish deuise: 'where,' quoth
 she, 'for the coy countenances that so oft thou haste repayed to
 the pittie moouing perfwations of him that, for thy loue well nie

lost, weares out in woe the dayes, and watches with tirrible
 torments the night, that in euerie sentence he speakes so oft
 cites thee by thy proper name and himfelfe, with bare conceit
 that hee hath thee whom by consent he rightly should haue had,
 pines awaie, poore soule, in the phicke fits of a passionate louer. 5
 In whose reuenge', quoth shee, ' I haue here seated thee by thy
 felfe, far from the resort of men, where defolation shall here teach
 thee to tell thy felfe that thou art now worfe than wilde beasts,
 that before esteemeft of thy felfe better than faire framed men :
 where,' quoth she, ' till thou canst call backe thy proude presuming 10
 thought to pittie his case that for thee spends his life in such care,
 here shalt thou haue thy abode, and be as far from any consolati-
 on of others as thou art from comforting of him ;' and so
 sodainely leauing her againe to her felfe she departed.

^a
 To pass away
 the time, Cassio-
 peia keeps sheep
 and makes
 clothing with
 their wool.
 Meanwhile, her
 father Bessarian
 sends his three
 sons in search of
 their sister, and
 Perosus tells
 the king that
 Bessarian is
 plotting treason.

At which abrupt Oration the maid seemed at the first dis- 15
 mayed : yet at length comfortes somewhat more her conceit, in
 that she knew the meanes of her remoue ; and so at last, after
 shee had long remained there in that people wanting world, to
 eschue the occasion of harme and the effect of idlenes shee
 betooke her felfe to carefull keeping of some simple natured 20
 sheepe, where of that place was stored, of whose wooll she now
 begins to spinne her felfe some homely atire, that was wont to be
 robed in the richest aray that nature and Arte could afford ; and
 in the meane time (the weary workes preuenting all occasions of
 further [H^s back] misfortune that might els in the continuance 25
 of time haue crossed theyr intent) workes meanes to discredit her
 wofull Father, who now destitute of all his children,—his daughter,
 the hope of comfort to hys declining age, and hauing three
 goodly sonnes, whome nature had euery way furnished with gifts
 fitting their degrees, whose names were *Michander*, *Terpander* 30
 and *Theonas* : all these had hee employed in the quest of their
 sister, when as his foes, taking the aduantage of their time,
Perosus, that was also a Counciller, gins secretlie to informe the
 King of certaine treasons pretended to his life and land by
Bessarian, father to thys new shepherdesse, of whome before 35
 wee tolde you : to the end that hauing vnfurnished him of the
 Kings fauour, himfelfe might the easier effect what occasion
 soeuer should be offered, and the poore father left destitute of all
 meanes to further his sonnes affaires : which the king at the first

was loth to beleue, both for that he had had so long tryall of the faithfull seruice old *Bessarian* had alwaies performed, as also that hee supposed that such subtiltie could not harbour in a siluer coloured head: 'for that', quoth he, 'Serpents alwaies lurke in
5 young greene tuftes & not in winter wythered grasse, age
abolishes deceits as it abandons vaine delights, & as the bodie
waxes weake, by so much more doth the minde waxe strong,
as being nowe freed from all the intising affections in hys age,
whereunto the vaine pleasures of this wicked world did still intise
10 him to in his youth': whereunto the other, ready to reple with
freshe inforſue argument, shewes straight to the King the inter-
missiue letters that so long had passed too and fro betwixt
Bessarian and many of his Maiesties enemies for the effecting of
their treasons, to which he had so cunningly [H⁴] counterfett
15 the oldmans hand as if himselfe had substantially set it downe;
and the better to proue euery seuerall circumstance of this his
furmished tale, hee presently produces two or three periured com-
panions, who for that purpose hee had subborned: whose sub-
stantiall tale tooke such effect and so farre incensed the King, that
20 in all haste sending for the old guiltlesse soule, who was so farre from
pretending this ill that, notwithstanding all the crosse occasions
that so vnluckely had hapned vnto him, he spends all his time
intending still naught but hys Soueraignes good: where when
hee came, the King, breaking soorth into impatience, beginnes
25 with traiterous names to vpbraide him, who, God knowes, was so
farre from inuenting it that he studied nothing more than the
preuenting it: and then vnripping vnto him the forged treason,
shewing him the counterfet letters signed by his own hand, the
seuerall circumstances prooued by such sufficient witneses as there
30 pretended themselues to be, impatient of excuse, and therefore
vtterly denying to heare his further answere, still vrged by the
enuious inuented perswasions of his subtille enemy, gins thus to
bewray his hatred.

'Experience', quoth he, 'hath taught us, and the dayly prooue
35 of still present time offers occasions to our eies of new examples,
how in brute beasts the countenance of long time groundes per-
fect loue, as the silly dogge that, brought vp at hys Masters
trencher, in his kinde remembers his curtesie and, whiles nature
lends him libertie of life, indeuours himselfe still in all duty to

The credulous
king believes the
charge, substan-
tiated as it is by
forged letters
and perjured
testimony, and
furiously up-
braids the inno-
cent old man.

requite it; and shall then man, their reasonable ruler, be worse than these reasonles thinges, by him so ruled? herbes, trees, and other vegitable creatures increasing from the earth, to them that with care manure their roots & prune their branches, render fruit for a reward, [H⁴ back] the beastes they in their su[n]drie¹ 5 kindes requites their owners cost, as one with his skinne, another with hys fleece; one with his huffe, and another with hys horne; one with hys labour, and another with hys loue; and shall not then he whome God hath made as Master of all these creatures exceede them in his reasonable raign, that subiect themselues 10 reasonles to be ruled? Since first I came to sway the heauie Scepter of this great Kingdome and tooke into my hands the tuition of so many people as inhabite these spacious plaines of wide west *Egipt*, [I] haue nourished thee euen in my bosome: nearest haue I kept thee to my selfe, because I would draw thy 15 affection from all other, & haste thou now with *Esopes* vngratefull snake, stinged him in the breast, that so carefully fought to preferue thee in his bosome.

Continuing his abuse, the king banishes Bessarion.

‘ Can it be that vnder the reuerend show of such honourable age should rest the vnderferued thoughtes of vnreuerent reuenging 20 rage? Is there founde foule droffe in faire gold, bad shewes on good substances, & can there be such hatred in sure hearts? I, I, I see the fayrest sommer shine hath his sodaine shower, the best blossome is oft times sooneft blasted, & the truest friend prooues oft the most trecherous foe: But as no man commends 25 the funnie morning, nor the showrie night, the frustrate hope of his fruite, for the bad blasted bud: so let euery man especially condemne the soules secret friend when he turns to a fore ferching foe: which *simile* I to thy selfe must now applie, that vnder the faire show of friendship hast secretly gone about to ouerturne 30 my estate & bring this welgouerned common weale to a ruinous decayed wracke; which fault is so apparant, both by thine owne hand sufficiently set foorth, as also confirmed by the Testament of others, as that my patience, scarce contain- [I¹]ing it selfe within the boundes of euill behaiour, cannot abide to heare any excuse, 35 and therefore will I against thee pronounce this heauie doome for thy ill deseruing deedes; the punishment of death were

¹ Text, *suudrie*.

a pleasure to thee, so that so I should ease thee of a great deale of sorrow; if thou shouldest still continue in thy best state thou wert likely to sustaine, and therefore from hencefoorth like a curfed creature shalt thou wander in the world and eate the
 5 bitter bread of banishment in a forraine soyle, that whilome liuedst so sweetly in thine owne naturall seat, and so foreuer I banish thee from the compasse of this Kingdome, to burie thy siluer haire in sorrow, that haddest such hope to harbour them in their graue with ioy.'

10 At which wordes the olde man not able to speake for the abundance of teares that stopped vp the way of his wordes, was forced to leaue him without further replie and, hopeles of any helpe, patiently to departe. By this time had the King (more to punish his supposed amis,) seized vpon all his goods, to the ende
 15 he might leaue him no succour to faue himself abroad: which when he saw, sorrowfully sighing to himselfe, desperately departes away without any further following the King for the repeale of this his punishment, and straight way betakes himselfe to hys trauaile: which when *Perofus* perceaued how they now had
 20 brought euery thing euen to the bent of their own bow, gins glorie to themselues in their likely prosperitie, purchased by the hard hap of an others aduersitie: but on a sodaine *Eutropa*, the Witch by whose counsell all this trecherie was contriued, looking further into the matter what was likelie to follow, by these meanes
 25 perceaued in the speculatiue glasse, how that the rightful reuenging gods had by many means determined her release: as first by *Chinon*, whom for [I^e back] that purpose they had brought out of England: then by her brethren, who had vndertaken to search all the world for their sister, and lastly by her father, whose gilltes
 30 banishment could not long be concealed, & then, beeing called home to hys former place, would seeke such meanes for her recouerie as their power coulde hardly preuent; and therefore to escape these insuing illes [s]he thus determined to deale. The maide who though she was from thence far remote, and in
 35 a place whether lay no ordenarie passage yet, foreseeing how at length that all would hit vpon that way incloses by her wicked workes this faire Damsell within the ruine of an olde Rocke hard by the riuier side, vpon whose bankes before shee made her abode: where accompanied with shadowes of naturall creatures hauing

Unable to speak for grief, the old man departs.

The witch, meanwhile, perceives in her magic glass that Cassiopeia will be released and hence encloses her 'within the ruine of an olde Rocke hard by the riuier side'.

faire womanly faces like her selfe, that seemed to outward sence of the far beholders to make her merrie with melodious musicke, but to her selfe she found it far contrarie, proouing nothing els but a harsh discord of misliking sounds; which outward semblance was for this purpose by them prouided that it might somewhat 5 satissie any idle beholder, to see that her prison was rather a pleasure than anye such paine as should moouue the mindes of men to venture any thing for her release; where, poore soule, shee now coopt vp in a Cage that before tooke her pleasure vpon those spacious plaines, like to the beguiled bird that, vnwares 10 falling into the Fowlers gin, is nowe caged vp in a little compasse, that whilome was wont to play vpon the broad branches of euery springing Plant.

CHAP. VIII.

Bessarian is transformed by the witch into the form of a bear, with a scroll about his neck promising good fortune to whoever kills him.

How Bessarian her father was by the Witch turned into the likenes of a Beare, and how hee met with his sonnes in that shape.

15

Thus hauing determined of her, they straight waies begin to striue with themselues how they might deuise some drift to remooue the feare that they had of her Fathers rising againe to his former state, which by the meanes of *Eutropa* the Witch they thus 20 contriued.

Shee, calling to counsaile her attendant spirits, by whose meanes shee brought to passe all this matter, gins giue them feuerally in charge to vse their Artes in plaging of this poore man, which they should so surely effect as no hope should be left 25 of any more comfort to come vnto him: where beating together their hell bred braines, they thus concluded with themselues, that they would chaunge hym from the shape of a man into the big body of an vgly Beare, [I² back], and so let him die a beast that was borne a man; and further yet to aggreuate hys woes, 30 which might notwithstanding this enuie haue an end, they intended in his disguise to hasten on hys death, least by some crossing occasions, as oftentimes are usually seene vnexpectedly fall out for the release of Magicke bandes, which they thus determined when they had wrought their willes in his transfformation, 35

about his necke they hang a scroule, wherein were written two verses which were these :

*He whose good hap shall kill this beare,
That man shall haue his hearts desire.*

- 5 Thinking by this meanes the better to drawe on euery mans might to the effecting of their former plotted purpose, for that all men by a naturall instinct ar greedie to get any hope of pursuing their purposes, though oft times they doe it with the danger of theyr liues: where the oldman turned after this manner
- 10 wanders through the woods, clogged with the burden of felfe feeling sorrow, and in dispayre of reliefe settles himselfe to that thraldome without hope of release. Many were the miseries in this shape hee sustained, as the many hungry dayes that in spite of himselfe he was forced to spend for that his stomacke was not
- 15 vsed to feede vpon such filthie carion as those beafts accustomedly deuoure; the raw restlesse nights without couert hee must now continue; the want of his friends, and feare of hys foes, with a countlesse company of more griefes than the capacitie of man can conceaue was conteyned in him, being then as a beast,
- 20 fauing that still he retayned the vse of his reasonable soule, which they by no meanes could make to miscarie.

The old man suffers great misery in his wandering. Meanwhile Cassiopeia's three Brothers are seeking her, and the eldest at length spies her 'in the midst of a clouen Rocke'; but suddenly the rock closes and shuts her from his sight.

- In the meane time the Witch, now in the [1st] midst of her busines, seeing in her speculatiue Glasse (wherein she vsually saw what accident foeuer was likely to happen) the approach of her
- 25 Brethren, who (by tracing vp and downe in the World) were some of them come neere (at vnwares) to the place where she was, poasted her felfe with all speed, the better to prosper her purpose, and with violence inforces a spirit (one of her owne Attendants) to vse the organes of her bodie to an ende which herselfe had deuised; that was to send fundrie wayes her Brethren,
- 30 who were like feuerally to come thether where now their Sister did sojourne.

- And by that time this Hag had brought this purpose to passe, Michander her eldest Brother (that now almost wearied with
- 35 walking vp and downe among the high, defolate Hills) had framed his iourney towards that Riuer the which with his swelling waters moystens once euerie yere those pleasant Egyptian Plaines, to refresh his tyred limmes in the coole

streames of that pleafant Current, bathing his sweet bodie in those refreshing Springs; fuddenly in the midft of a clouen Rocke he espies fitting a companie of faire Creatures, whereof one (exceeding all, lyke the Huntrefse amidft the naked troupes of her attendant Nymphs) hee quickly startes vp and hies to the 5 place where he fupposed they fhould bee: to which as hee came nearer, hee might perceau the middlemoft Ladie, that fo farre exceeded the reft, to be *Cafiopeia* his Sifter, for whom he had made fuch fearch; when in an extafie of ioye, ftanding ftill as not able at the firft to vtter the fudden mirth of his minde, 10 the enuious Stone closes his fides and fhuts them al from his fight. At which fudden accident, his fenfes, as farre caft downe as before they mounted themfelues with the hope of recouering his Sifter, gins with himfelf [I^s back] deuife what this matter might meane, till from the Rocke hee heard one pitifully call him 15 by hys owne name; which at length he perceiued to be the voice of his Sifter whom before he had feene: and anfwering againe to her fudden call, ginnes demaund by what meanes he might come vnto her. To whom ftraight ſhe anfweres, that there was no paffage to that place; for that, by the wicked worke of 20 an enuious Inchantrefse, ſhe was there fo furely inclofed, as neither force of man, edge of weapon, violence of fire, nor any other earthly meanes whatfoeuer the World could afford was able to auaille, except himfelfe would aduenture one thing for her deliuerance. And then ſhee coniures him by the dutie 25 he ought to his Father, the loue to her his Sifter, and the care of preferuing their Kindred, that he ſhould vndertake this Aduenture: which he with more earneft defire offers to doo than ſhe could with her former reaſons perfwade hym too, defiring her to tell him his tafke, that he might ſlip no time, but 30 in al haſt hye him to the performance of this thing, which was like fo highly to pleaſure them both, her with comfort, and him with content. To whom ſhe thus begins to vnfold her intent.

‘Under’ (quoth ſhe) ‘that topleſſe Hill which we call by the name of *Taurus*, that with his length gyrdells in the wyde 35 Continent of flowring *Aſia*, vnder the roote of an euerlaſting Lilly, ſtands there a Uiall full of Uirgins teares, that encountred with the like croſſe as I am now (poore Soule) in, and before her releaſe dyed there for ſorrow; to whoſe eternall memorie, againſt

He hears her
call him by name
and learns her
plight. The
witch then moves
her to ſend him
to the *Taurus*
mountains for a
vial full of
virgin's tears
that have power
‘to breake the
strongest in-
chaunted
Bands’.

the infectiue rage of this ouer ruling power, the Fates haue there
referred that powerfull Potion, whose Uertue is to breake the
strongest inchaunted Bands; and so Shee that by them was thus
bound while shee liued haue the Gods ordained as an In-[1⁴]
5 strument to vnbinde them now she is dead. But the still
working wits of these wicked wretches, hatching nothing but
harne, intending nothing but what is ill, and perfourming
nothing but that which tends to our plague, haue, to preuent
that which is thus prouided, strongly garded the ground where
10 thys Uyall standeth, with the power of a sight-killing Serpent,
such as we call a Cockatrice, against whom no power is able to
preuaile.'

At which words [*Mich*]ander,¹ breaking her from hir furdur dif-
course, ginnes to perswade his sister a litle with patience, and ere
15 long hee doubted not by hys meanes to work her libertie. And
thus like the greedie Grey-hound that suddenly sets out to follow the
swift footed Hare, flies he to attaine his purpose, beleeuing as his
sorrowfull Sister did, that there had been that vertue in the water,
but it was onely the deceit of her deadly Enemie, that deter-
20 mined to make away all her Bretheren, whose indeuours were
else likely to worke her release: and therefore (as before wee
said) inforced her tung to tattle that which her minde did not
meane, whereby shee might bee theyr deaths in seeking to doo
her good.

25 Not long after [*Mich*]ander² had thus betaken himselfe to his
iournie, with hope that her release from that place should repay
the desertes of his paines, comes to her the second brother,
whose name was [*Terp*]ander,³ and hee as the first, ioyfull to see
the ende of hys iournie, which was the sight of hys sister, begins
30 after the manner of newe met friendes to refalute her, and as he
offered to haue kissed her hand for ioy of his good happe,
sodainely the Rocke shutting her from him deuorces a sunder
both their desires; to refalute whose proffered kindnesse, she,
speaking from her prison, telles him with teares the manner of
35 her [1⁴ back] inclosure, intreating him by all the true loue that
nature workes in the mindes of men that he would vndertake
some meanes for her freedome; which he readier to offer than

The deluded
youth at once
goes in search
of the magic vial.
Then comes the
second brother,
who, directed by
his sister (con-
trolled by the
witch) goes to
Arabia to get
Orion's harp,
the music of
which, he is told,
will effect her
release.

¹ Text, *Terpander*.

² Text, *Terpander*.

³ Text, *Micander*.

hee willing to inioyne, calls to hys solemne vow all the Gods of Heauen and Guiders of Earth, that were it a greater toyle than to number the sands of the Shore, the droppes in the Sea, or the starres in the Skie, more heauie than the burden of *Atlas*, more toylsome than the Labours of *Hercules*, or more tedious than the Laborynth of *Theseus*, hee would with ease vndergoe it, with courage performe it, and with pleasure proceed in it: and therefore hastened her forward (poore Soule) to pronounce hys harme.

She gins tell him that 'in the Deserts of *Arabia* rests [*A*]rions¹ 10 Harpe, brought thether by the meanes of an Inchauntresse, to releafe from the thraldome of such subiection as now I am in, a valorous Knight, whom another Magitian had there imprisoned: and sayling by some crosse occasion to perforce the purpose whereunto it was brought, there still remaines, but kept by a man- 15 eating *Canniball*, hauing neither the forme of a man, nor the fashion of a beast, but compound of them both. Him' (quoth shee) 'if thou canst ouercome, and bring backe that well tuned Instrument, at whose stroakes the dauncing Dolphin delighted beares on his backe wofull [*A*]rion² 20 from the furie of the fierce swelling seas, when by the Pirates he was cast among the waues; The sound whereof wilbe sufficient to vndoo the doores of this diuelish deuice: for which deed thou shalt be blessed, and I borrowed from this punishing prison'. Which said, the forward young Man, loath to loose time by standing on reply, 25 gets speedily from the place and hies him to his labour.

Lastly comes the youngest brother, who in his turn is sent to get from a temple in a perilous island a golden book full of enchantments.

[K¹] After whose departure, by chance (as did both the first) comes *Theonas*, the yongest and last of these brethren, who, at a sudden seeing his Sister there inclosed in the Rocke, gins as did the other to resalute her with such louing looks as 30 accustomabl[y]³ passe betwixt longing frends at their first meeting; wher, after manie words on both sides, *Theonas*, wondring why she should sit so still in her seate and not offer the like curtesie he intended to her, gins to draw neerer the place where she was when, on a sudden, the Rock (closing together) 35 denies his nearer approach: at which, shee sorry within and he as sad without, gins both of them distill as manie amber teares from their cristall eies as might haue dissolued againe the

¹ Text, *Orions*.

² Text, *Orion*.

³ Text, *accustomable*.

craggie cliffes of those pittiles Rockes. At length thee (as afore to the other two) gins tell him the manner of her life, and intreates his aid for her release, telling him of a perilous Iland that was sometime kept by a skilfull woman named the wife
 5 *Erganea*, where on an Altar in a Temple (there built vnto her name) lies a golden Booke, 'in which (quoth she) is contained all the Enchauntments that Arte can affoord, and their feuerall releafes again, kept by two Harpies (such were those monstrous birds with whom *Alcides* fought, and for his conflict with them
 10 was so great, it was accounted as one of the xii. Labours hee atchieued): thence if thou canst but fetch it away, it wil be the only meane to worke my release, and end thy long desires and tedious labour'.

Wheretoo the yong man attentiuely harkening, as one that
 15 longed to eternise his name to succeeding posterities for the performance of some such famous Worke, makes small delay to prosecute this busines, with comfortable promises of fairer dayes, cheering and comforting her minde, leaues her to the mercy of [K¹ back] her Foe, till his happie returne make
 20 her more fortunate.

These feuerall Aduentures by her imposed on her Bretheren, had this Witch before provided, only for a meane to destroy all them that should in this labour indeuour themselues, and perforce made her tongue the vnwilling Instrument to incite them to
 25 this ill: who otherwise intended their indeuours onely for her good.

CHAP. IX.

*How Chinon came to the Rocke where the
 Ladie was inchaunted, and what happened
 thereof.*

30 In this time the Fayries (by whose meanes *Chinon* was conueighed out of *England*) had brought hym to the place where in the Vision whilest he lay asleep vnder the Arbour in *England* they shewed him the faire Shepheardesse, and had taken their leaue, telling him how (by his meanes) that Ladie (now in
 35 Captiuitie) was to be released, but how manie dangers hee must first passe through, left him there to folow his farder fortune, with

And now comes
Chinon, brought
 by the fairies for
 the rescue of
Cassiopeia.
 After wandering
 beside the river
 he hears her
 singing a mourn-
 ful ditty.

great promises that after labour he should finde rest, after [K²] stormes calmes, and after frowning aduersitie smyling prosperitie : and so on a sudden vanished away. When he (seeking vp and downe for her, whome by no meanes he could find) wondring how so rare beutie could be bred in such a homely soyle, whereas 5 the Earth was vnfruitfull for want of tillage, the Trees vnorderly bearing frute for lacke of pruning, and the seuerall Beasts disagreeing in their owne kindes for want of ordering ; plainly the true definition of solitarie desolation that, oft abounding in all things, is cause of decay to euerie thing. At last, as hee 10 wandered along the Riuer, he heard excellent musique, and a more excellent voyce forth this Ditie :

*How sweete a thing is this Content
To which poore countrie Swaines are born ?
These falls of Fortune they preuent,
And other hard mishaps doo scorne.*

15

*Oh how thrice blessed had I beene,
If (but obscurde in countrie weeds)
Those mightie men I nere had seene,
Whose loathed loue my sorrow breeds ?*

20

*But such is the vnconstant state
Of this still-changing Worlds delight,
Making the meane a Princes mate,
Crossing high hopes with low despight.*

*Which makes my Soule (in sad despaire)
Die here ten thousand times a day,
Woond vp within a world of care,
Whence nought can it release away.*

25

Following the sound he at length finds her sitting amid the rocks and in rapture addresses her. But the wily witch controls her tongue as she replies.

[K² back] When hee, following the sound of the voyce, at length found her where she was sitting in the hollow side of 30 a Rocke, hemmed round about with a shew of such creatures as her selfe, to whom *Chinon* ginnes thus to bewray himselfe.

‘Ah thou more than thy selfe, in that thou retainest too heauenly a forme for anie earthly frame, How impartiall are the Fates that turnes the neuer standing Wheele of Fortune, to grace 35 with so continuall a Sunne this Soyle, and lowre with obscure

showres on other places. Goddesse of these Plaines, that giuest more grace to these fields than did the Goddeses to the place where they pleaded for the golden Prize, Hadst thou liued in those dayes when young *Apollo* loued, then hadst thou been the
 5 Paramour of Learnings Prince, and guided his will that now gouernes the World. For thy sake am I transported from the furthest place of the wide western World into these cynged Plaines of euer ouer dried *Egypt*. For thee will I follow the aduentures of Armes, so that when for thy sake I haue fought the World, and
 10 with my sword engraued (in neuer changing characters) thy God like name in the farthest corners of all-breeding Earth, where no consuming fire, cutting sword, nor eating eternitie shall euer weare awaye thy memorie, so that for my labour thou wilt reward me with thy loue.'

15 When with exceeding passion he had deliuered these speeches, with more than common admiration he paused, like one that were suddenly amazed wyth the shoue of some vnacquainted fight, stood a long while as in a traunce: when as the wylie Witch, perceiuing this new come Companion likely to marre
 20 what shee and false *Perofus* (by their practises) had been so long a making, beginnes to take once more [K³] the charge of her tongue, and thus boldly begins to tie him to his taske.

'Faure Knight', quoth shee, 'whose willing minde to doo me seruice wins more reward than I am able any wise to bestow, If
 25 I were what now I am not, then would I doe what now I doe not, with fauour requite thy forward fortunes; but thus it is': and then she begins in a long Historie to relate her frowning fortunes. First drawne from the Court, then perforced long time by her selfe to dwell solitarily vpon that vnpeopled soyle, and
 30 lastly, when shee began to comfort her selfe, with that country content, then solitarily to shut her vp in that place, where was no passage fo[r]¹ any people to come to her, and she deprived of all power to come out to them; & then telling how there rested no hope of redresse, if that for her sake some mighty man would not
 35 vndertake a trebble taske, worfe than tormented *Sisiphus* hys toyle.

Cassiopela relates her sad story and begs his assistance, which he is more than ready to give. But the old witch prepares to thwart him.

Which words wrought such a desire in the minde of this forward Knight, as vowing to performe more mightie deedes

¹ r partly erased.

than those deedes of the olde Giances that heaping hill vpon hill assayd the height of heauen, he instantly begins to intreat that in this her charge she would admit of him as her Champion.

At which wordes the Hag, that all this while had hid her substance in an inuisible shade, gins vrge her to impose vpon him 5 all those plagues she had appointed the other three and, when hyr perswasieue Oration was scarce done, hys eager minde, that alreadie was working for so faire a rewarde, like the towring hawke, that swiftly takes the aduantage of the fearefull foule, fares hee, that proud to himselfe so faire a Saint should so soone 10 accept of his seruice, and imploy him in so serious a peece of seruice as was the remedy of her releafe, flies with al speed to effect hys purpose; [K³ back] and shee, poore foule, hoping well that one of her workmen would at last returne againe with the reward of their worke, with comfort contents her selfe to abide the end: 15 where wee must a while leaue her (very melancholily meditating with her selfe, howe shee might best spende her time in that wicked Prison, thinking every houre to bee a whole yeare, and every yeare a thousand, till shee had heard againe some newes of her searching seruants, that had spred them selues all abroad in 20 the wide world, to seeke her some meanes for to mittigate her miserie and restore her to her former freedome againe) and nowe a while follow our feuerall Aduenturers for her aide, that by this time had trauailed far from the place where they first tooke in hand this iournie.

25

[K⁴]

CHAP. X.

How these brethren came to the feuerall places appointed by the sister, and of their aduenture there.

The eldest brother after long search finds the magic vial guarded by a monster cock with the tail of a crocodile and fiery eyes that dart poison.

[*Mich*]ander,¹ the eldest brother, who first vndertooke this charge, iourning through the spacious plains of *Asia*, hopelesse to 30 finde: for that beeing long since hee came to the side of the mountaine where hee was promised to finde this viall of teares, and had almost fought euerie feuerall corner of the same, and yet could

¹ Text, *Terpander*.

finde no likelyhood of any such matter : Notwithstanding, loath
to leaue vnfoought any place where shewed any appearance of
such a matter, At last he saw a farre off the rising as it were of
an Alabaster Rocke that halfe ouershadowed a hole, artificially cut
5 into the side of the hill : whether, hying him apace to see what
thereby might be meant, came at last to the place, and there at
the first, seeing nothing that might any waies auaille him, was
about to depart againe, till hearing somewhat hasting [K⁴ back]
it self soorth of the hole, he stood stil to see what it might bee ; at
10 last appeares vnto him the forepart as it were of an ouergrowne
Cocke, but farre greater than any of that kinde, that with his
ferie eyes poysons euery obiect he sees ; against whose force
[Mich]ander¹ had prouidently prouided a bright Armour of steele,
which couered euery feuerall part of him, on whome when he
15 looked, the reflexe of hys sight, sending back againe the dart of
poyson to himselfe that hee threw out at another, powerfully
poysoned himselfe. The hinder part of this beast was framed
after the manner of a Cocodriles tayle, such as are commonly
resident about the bankes of *Nilus* in Egypt, that with the force
20 thereof had beene able to haue brused the best prooued Armour :
with which, when by the retorquation of hys ouer sight he had
lost the vse of his eyes, hee lustily laid about, till such time as the
vpper part of hys bodie, forceably swelling with the inwarde
working poyson, made him so vnwildie that now, vnable to weald
25 his body any more, was forced to fall downe, and with the power
of the poyson shortly after died : which when [Mich]ander² per-
ceaued that his foe was so soone soiled, taking it to be the place
of which his sister had foretold, by reason that in her discourse she
discribed vnto him such a like keeper of that precious water as
30 was this same that there kild with his owne weapon lay dead
before him, gins diligently to search vp and downe for the thing
it selfe, which at last on the other side of the rocke he perceaued :
where vnder a faire Lillies roote stoode the treasure for which he
had spent so much paines : which when he saw, hartely thanking
35 those helping heauens that had so mightely, not only preferred
him from the force of hys foe, but also helped him to the
inheritance of that hee so much desired, goes boldy forward to
the place where hee [L¹] saw this Lillie spring, & taking away

Fortunately the youth's bright armour reflects the poisoned glances of the beast's eyes back upon its own body and presently ends its life.

The youth now eagerly seizes the coveted vial which, warmed by the heat of his hand, soon poisons his whole body and drives him to frenzy.

¹ Text, *Terpander*.

² Text, *Terpander*.

the viall which he, poore foule, tooke to be no other than the teares of a virgin, that by such kind of meanes as his sister had discribed vnto him was placed there, and about to returne with ioyfull newes of his sisters deliuerance, hee had not gone farre from the place where first hee founde it ere the Viall, beginning 5 to warme with the heat of his hand, sodainely, by vertue of the venomous water therein inclosed, infused such a contagious heate into euery feuerall vaine and sinnow of his body as that wherewith the poysoned shirt was that intraged madding *Hercules*: So this poore man, that for his good meaning was thus recompensed 10 with ill measure, intraged with the extreame paine of his inuenomed limmes, gins fall into a frantike humor, leauing the way should lead him backe againe to hys Sister, and, furiously, without regard of himselfe, gins reuenge hys iniurie vpon fenles and brutish beastes, that had now lost all the power of a man. 15

This was the end the forceres had intended shuld betide to him, that in hope to fetch his sisters blis shuld there finde his owne bane and by some meanes or other kill himselfe, or els, vnable so with reason to rule himselfe, should fall into the daunger of some wilde beast who, without pittying his case, might cast 20 hym away: where we must leaue him in his lunacie and come to the second brother, who by this time was attained to the appointed place, scituate in the bosome of the *Arabian* deserts: where vpon a Cypresse branch he might a far off discerne the golden instrument on whose trembling stringes the beauteous 25 beames of the sunne delights to dally. There vnderneath this dismall shade, for that now the sunne at the Zenith of this Sphere dartes downe his perpendicular beames with such force vpon the face of the earth as [L¹ back] makes euery creature seeke to shelter himselfe in the coole shades: for which 30 cause this monster was then crept vnder the Cipresse shadowes and ouercommmed with the heate of the aire was then false a sleepe: to whom when [*Terp*]ander¹ came neere, diligently vewing each feuerall part of his deformed body, for that the Instrument hung high vpon the tree, and without styrring this 35 stubborne beast could no waies be come by, prepares himselfe after the best manner hee could to Combat with this Curre and, when he had buckled on his Armour, made readie his

The second brother finds in Arabia the harp that he seeks, guarded by a huge monster, part dog and part man. A fierce combat ensues in which the monster is laid low.

¹ Text, *Micander*.

weapon and was now encouraged to encounter with hys enemy,
gins with some such noyse as then hee made to rouse hym from
hys rest.

When as the Canniball, like the throted Dogge whome
5 *Theseus* awaked in the Gates of hell, sends out such a
hideous crie as affrighted the neighboring Birdes and Beastes
that inhabite that part of the world with his terrible sounde
and, shaking of himselfe, gins shew in his vpper parts the
perfect forme of a Dogge with long eares; which long dangling
10 eares, that exceeded the substance of the greatest spaniels, hung
well nie downe to his middle. From the middle downeward he
had the shape of a man, big boned as are these wilde people
that, liuing lawlesse in such vnruled places, feeding themselues
after their fashion vpon the fat of the earth, out growes the
15 common sort of well guided people; and taking vp from the
earth a great Iron club, such as was in his iudgement too
big to be swayed by a man, without any warning gins fall
to his weapon: where betwixt them two was begun a dan-
gerous fight & long time continued with vncertaine hope of
20 successe, till [*Terp*]ander¹, nimbly eschueing the weight of his
weapons fall, gins get within his reach, & so carues his
skinne and [*L*]² bones with his well tempered sword which
for that purpose he had only prouided, that in short time hee
made him with the great issue of blood that fell from hys
25 wounds so weake as he was not able any more to beare the
waight of his blowes but was forced to fall vnder his foe:
which when [*Terp*]ander¹ perceaued he straight waies dismembers
him of all his limmes and leaues nothing behinde for his helpe
but the naked bulke of his body; and then, reaching downe
30 from the tree that fatall instrument (which the Witch to another
end than hee aimed at had prepared) gins turne back his
course, and with that Confort, hie him home to comfort his
sister.

Seizing now the
magic harp, the
victor touches
the strings, but
is at once struck
dumb.

As thus hee was traouailing to his long wished for place
35 of ariall, sodainely hee determined with him selfe to trie what
was the harmonie of that famous instrument, that with his
sound coulde call the censelesse trees from their rootes, remooue
the craggie Rockes from their Cliffes, mitigate the reuenging

¹ Text, *Micander*.

Lastly comes
the youngest
brother, Theon-
nas, and upon
the perilous
island finds the
temple where
upon the altar
lies the en-
chanted golden
book, guarded
by two harpies.

wrath of brutish deuouring beaſts, compoſe concord betwixt
the Lambe and the Lyon, the Hound and the Hare, the
Fawcon and the ſillie foule: whoſe ſtrings he had no ſooner
touched, but determining with himſelfe to ſing ſome delightſome
Ditty to the ſweete tenth of theſe ſiluer ſounding ſtringes, for ioy 5
hee had compaſſed his deſire. The powers of his tongue deny-
ing any more to execute their office, hee was ſodainely ſtroken
dumb, which was the plague this witch had pretended ſhould
light on him by the Magicke made ſound of this Inſtrument,
which was nothing els but an illuſion, as were all the reſt, to 10
draw theſe brethren into danger; where we wil leaue him,
making what ſhift his dumb demeanes affordes him to trauell
homeward, and come now at laſt to the third brother, *Theonas*,
that by the ſauorable hope [L² back] of winde and weather was
nowe ariued vppon the perillous Iland: where, comming into 15
the Temple of *Erganea*, the wiſe Inchauntreſſe, that was richly
adorned with all peculiar thinges therevnto belonging. At the
vpper end thereof vppon an Altar of clear Chriſtal that was
couered with a curious cloth of gold, ouer whome was hung the
perfect picture of an ancient woman, which woman was the fore- 20
named *Erganea*, there twixt two golden Candleſtickes that were
filled with two continuall burning Tapers cenſing the Temple
with ſweet fauours, lyes a golden book which was kept by two
harpies, monſterous byrdes, halfe Women, and halfe Serpents,
that with their winges ſo beats the young aduenturer as hee was 25
ſcarce able to abide theyr force.

But as hee that looking ſtill vpon the goles is better encouraged
to goe forward, hee that ſees the harbour takes greater paines to
get home, hee that is neare an end of his labour thinkes all the
paines but little hee hath to ſpend: So fares it with *Theonas*, that 30
looking vpon the end whereto hee had endeouored himſelfe,
thinkes the paines but a pleaſure hee indured, & in ſhort time ſo
behaued himſelfe as that he had ouerthrowne one of hys enemies,
and then, like the Hart, that by caſting his horne renues
his ſtrength, the Eagle by looſing his bill ſtrengthens his flight, 35
ſo he at the ſight of hys fall begins to fight a freſh, and in ſhort
time had the like ſucces of the one as before he had found in
the other: ſo that nowe there was no partition betwixt him and
his pray, but that he might take away the booke, to which when

Eagerly opening
the book the
youth releases

hee came, opening it that hee might bee an eye witnes what was there included, in fteed of thofe powerfull fpels that there he fhuld haue read, from out the clofure thereof came fuch a duftie fogge as filling his eies with a [L³] blacke myft like vnto pitchie
 5 fmoake he was fuddenly ftroken blind, and there left to grope his way back, that came thether with the perfect vfe of his eyes. This Booke (as were both the reft) was nothing els but a deceit of the Inchauntereffe to draw thether one of thofe Brethren, where (in ftead of releeuing their Sifter) they might
 10 intrall themfelues. Thus poore *Theonas* (euen in the prime of his Spring) hauing loft the vfe of this light, (which is the especiall comfort of mans life) wanders vp and down like old forfaken *Oedipus* in his exilde life: where we muft a while leaue him in this pitteous cafe with hys Bretheren.

a 'dustie fogge' that fills his eyes as with 'pitchie smooke' and blinds them.

CHAP. XI.

15 *How Chinon met with these Bretheren feuerally one after another, and what became thereof.*

By this time was *Chinon* come to the place where we firft left
 [Mich]ander¹ mad after hee had taken vp the Violl of Water: Chinon now by chance meets the first brother, who has been crazed by the magic vial of water, and after being attacked by the madman throws him down and takes away the vial.
 20 who feeing him fare fo with himfelfe, rending vp trees by the rootes, tearing vp mightie ftones from their places where they flood and tumbling them downe from the [L³ back] tops of high hills into the bottomes of deepe vallyes, who (notwithftanding his miffortune) kept ftill the Viall about him vntouched; to
 25 whom *Chinon* came, wondering to fee what man fhould walke that waye, [and] begins to queftion with him about the manner of his comming thether. To whom the mad man far vnlike himfelfe (for that before he was courteous, but now contrarie to his kinde hee had changed his countenance to hair-braind crueltie
 30 and in ftead of courteous behauiour anfweres him in rayling opprobrious tearmes) at² the length begins with force to affaile him as an enemie; which *Chinon* perceiuing, clofing with the mad man as hee came to incounter with him forceable, cafts him downe, & taking from him the Viall of water, which all

¹ Text, *Therfander*.

² and needlessly inserted before at.

Along with the vial the madness passes to Chinon, who rages furiously, while the former mad-man is restored to reason and plans some other means for releasing his sister. Chinon now overtakes the second brother, tears away his harp, thus restoring his speech, and is struck dumb himself.

this while hee had kept closely in his handes, beginnes to looke what it should be the poore soule had in such request, when suddenly, by the like mischance that the other was changed, himselfe was with Lunacie presently possessed: and raging like *Ajax* after his soyle for *Vlysses* hys armour, or mightie *Alcides* when on the Mountaine *Oeta* he built the Altare whereon himselfe was sacrificed, tearing his clothes from his backe, the hayres from his head, and launcing with deepe wounds the limmes of his bodie, releaseth [*Mich*]ander¹ from the plague wherewith he was possessed, and brings it vpon himselfe. Which the other perceiuing how hee was deliuered from that daunger, pittied the wofull estate of this worthie Man, but helpe him hee could not, for that such was his inuincible strength, now by the force of his furie much more augmented, which force neither man nor beaſt, stocke nor stone, nor any other creature whatsoeuer was able to stand in hys hand; so that in short time, what with his vnorderly tracing through vnfrequented passages to finde out the way for his fire, and his swift paces that stil ouer-went the other wearie, wearie man, who had tyred himself before in his furie, *Chinon* was quite gone out of his sight: whom wee must now leaue after the recouerye of his wits, traouelling home againe into hys owne Countrey, to seeke out some other meanes for the releafe of his Sister, and follow *Chinon*, who raging and rauing like an angrie Lion at last ouer-takes [*Terp*]ander,² who (poore man) as quiet for the sorrow he had lost the vse of his tongue as the other vnruely in his rage, seeing him a farre off, staid still to expect the euent of his suddē [a]pproach³; when the madde man, comming to him, gins with vnseemly behauior to abuse the other poore distressed Soule, and wyth force pulling from him the Instrument which he was loth to loose, though by it he had incurred such a displeſure, yet at last *Chinon* (farre stronger than the other) perforce pulls it away and, assaying with his fingers to strike the strings, was at the first found thereof stricken dumbe, whereof as soone as *Chinon* was possessed [*Terp*]ander⁴ was straight way releafed. Which infirmitie when *Chinon* perceaued in himselfe, redoubling the rigour of his handes for the vse hee had lost of his tongue, gins furiously to fall vpon [*Terp*]ander⁴ and

¹ Text, *Tirpander*.

² Text, *approach*.

³ Text, *Micander*.

⁴ Text, *Mishander*.

beate him for being the Authour of his ill: which the other perceiuing, farre vnable to sustaine the strength of his stroake, makes meanes to escape his hands, which by his swift flight hee soone attayned. So in short time ridding of himselfe enough
5 from the feare of this foe, hee for his owne safetie takes home the neereft way hee could finde into hys owne Countrey.

In the meanetime *Chynon* wandring wyldly thus about the World all carelesse where hee went, because how soeuer hee turned euerie where [L⁴ back] lay his way, at last comes downe
10 vnto the Sea side, where by chaunce he findes a Boate readie furnished with all prouision necessarie for the Sea; who (after the manner of such madde men) leaping thereintoo (though ignorant what to do or careles whither to go, more than to satisfie his mad humor) launched from shore, and making shift to set up his saile,
15 was quickly conueyed farre from the sight of anie Land into the midst of the merciles seas, sayling too and fro manie dayes not fearing to be drownd, because he perceiued nothing: nor expecting anie place whether to goe, for that he scarce knew where he was, either at sea or on shore. But at the last (flying
20 with his Barke before the Winde) he was suddenly driuen on shore vpon an Iland, where (leaping a land) he betooke himselfe to trauaile vp into the countrie to see what people it did affoord: where he had not long trauelled, but a farre off vpon the side of a Hil he espied one sadly sitting by himselfe,
25 towards whom he made what hast he possibly could.

This was the yongest Brother of those three, that before we told ye of was stroken blind by looking into the enchanted Booke; to whom when he came, suddenly snatching the Booke out his hande (after hys fond furious fashon) opens the claspes to see
30 what was therein contained, when suddenly issued out such another fogge as that wherewith *Theonas* was stricken blinde, and in like manner bedazels his eyes: when presently *Theonas* was againe restored vnto his sight, and wondring to see there so goodly a man possessed with so manie plagues at once, ginnes
35 then with himselfe consider how it should come to passe: who, for that himselfe was vnacquainted with what had happened to his other Bretheren, could gesse at none but that which lately he was punished wythall [M¹] himselfe: one, for that the reasonlesse Man (for all these troubles wherewith hee was tormented) could

Now both mad and dumb *Chynon* wanders to the seaside, and leaping into a boat drifts whereuer it carries him. Driven at last to an island he goes ashore and there meets *Theonas*, the youngest brother. Him he deprives of his magic book and of his blindness, and thus draws the third plague upon himself, while *Theonas* goes in search of his sister and brothers.

not (by his meanes) be brought within the compasse of quiet behaiour, thought it best to prouide some meanes for his owne escape, and leaue hym there to the mercie of GOD, that would not be ruled by the meanes of a man; so he betooke himselfe to his Iourney, where we must also leaue him (ridde by thys meanes 5 of a mischiefe) retourning to seeke hys Bretheren, and take some other order for their enchanted Sister.

The witch is disturbed that the three brothers are restored to health, but rejoices that all the plagues have fallen upon Chinon, whom she fears most. She therefore shuts him up in a rocky prison, but restores his wits. Meanwhile, Earl Cador, grieving over the loss of his son, induces King Arthur to send a party in search of Chinon.

The Inchauntresse now (that all this while sawe the issue of this matter), greewing that her cunning should be so crossed and yet ioying that all these punishments were light vppon his head 10 whom she before feared more than all the rest, set all her wits aworke, to deuise a meanes how shee might (now hauing him at such a vantage) make him sure for euer escaping out of her hands againe; foreseeing that by his meanes all this scattered Kindred were likely to be restored againe to their 15 former estate. And therefore (by her power) inclofes him within the clift of a Rocke, against which she rouled vp a mightie stone such as the force of manie ordinarie men was not able to remooue: and so, leaft by any meanes he might be recovered out of this inchaunted Castle, shee places as Porter before the 20 doore thereof a mightie Gyant, twice as great and grim as the ordinarie kynde of such ouer-grownen Creatures vse to bee. Where, when hee was inclosed (supposing him now safe enough from anie refort that should bring him releefe) she was content all his plagues should cease, and hee (the more to aggreuate his 25 grieffe) be restored againe to his wits; which was effected as speedily as deter-[M^r back]mined.

No sooner was he closely shut vp into that vncomfortable Cabin, but all his Instruments (by whose meanes he came by those crosses) as his Water, his Harpe, and his Booke vanished 30 away, and he himselfe restored (as I before said) againe to the same estate of sense as he was before, his libertie onely excepted: where we must now awhile leaue him in his melancholy Cell, and retourne againe into *England*, to see the sorrow of olde *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, for the sudden departure (without taking 35 leaue) of *Chinon* his Sonne.

CHAP. XII.

*How Arthur of England sent three of his
Knights to search for Chinon, & how they
found him.*

Cador Earle of *Cornwal*, whilst that these things were thus by
5 this diuelish Inchauntresse effecting, stil spent his yeares in sorrow
for the sudden losse of his Sonne, and at last (wearied with too
much grief) he intended to make some friendly meanes to the
King, for to haue his royall fauour [M²] and helpe for his
recouerie. Therefore on this determining, he repaired one day
10 to the Court, and there finding the King and all his Knights, as
carefull for his crosse misfortune as himselfe, gins in very humble
manner (yet with honourable regard) thus to intreate his
Maiestie :

‘Most royall Souereigne (for whom from my first able yeares
15 my seruice hath been employed) vouchsafe me in my decayed
yeares this Kingly comfort : Send forth (I beseech you) some of
his worthie fellow Knights to seeke *Chinon* my Sonne ; who,
albeit he hath yet deserued little either of your Grace or of them,
yet his forward endeuour hath alway showne he would much
20 more ere this haue merited, had not enuious fortune crost him in
this fort.’

To whom the King and all his Nobles present did most
willingly condescend. Then, calling together al the Knightly
companie of his Round Table, declared to them Duke *Cadors*
25 request and his owne readinesse to haue it vndertaken : who all
were not onely [ready] to goe in Quest of *Chinon*, but each man
manifested his more than common earnestnes by taking offence
if anie one were named beside himselfe. To ende this con-
trouersie, the King thus prouided, that euerie man should drawe
30 his Lot, and on whom soeuer it fell that Knight should forthwith
chuse hym two Fellowes from the rest of the Companie, and fo
they three shuld take vpon them this desired trauaile. The Lots
accordingly were made, and euerie one of the Knights drew, and
the Lot fell vpon Sir *Calor*, who was Sonne vnto Sir [*Triamore*]¹
35 and the beauteous *Celestina*, Daughter to the King of *France*,

A company
chosen by lot
and headed by
Sir Calor goes
on the expedi-
tion, taking
counsel from
Merlin before
departing.

¹ Text, *Lancelot du Lake*.

whose Parents' *Chinon* before valiantly rescued, beeing betraid and taken in the hands of the trecherous Souldan.

[M² back] But before their departure, it was thought conuenient (for the better furtherance of their Iourney) to take some counsell of *Merlin*, who then liued accounted as a Prophet in 5 *England*, and (by his skill) could tell of secrete things forepast, and hidden mysteries to come.

Merlin, beeing sent for by the Kings commandement, came to the Court, and shewes them in a speculatiue Glasse the manner of his departure out of *England*, the manie troubles hee had 10 endured in hys Iourney, and now at last opens at large the whole manner of that great miserie whereuntoo he is now brought by the meanes of that subtile Inchauntresse: telling them further that, except they made verie exceeding great speed for to procure his releafe, hee was likely to dye there for want of releefe, being 15 there detained from all necessaries fit to sustaine a man, or at least hauing of those necessaries a verie short pittance allowed him.

Following *Merlin's* directions they at length arrive before the cave where *Chinon* is held as prisoner. Sir *Calor* then overcomes the fierce guardian and releases *Chinon*. The giant keeper thereupon exposes all the plotting of *Perosus*; and the knights lay their plans to defeat him.

Merlin, hastening them forward on their iourney, promised all the cunning he could afford for their speedie conueyance, which 20 he effectually perfourmed, so that in short time they were arriued in this perillous Iland: where, after long search for the place wherein *Merlin* did promise they should finde their friend, at last they might espie this monstrous man, iaylour to that vnfortunate Knight, stretching himselfe at the mouth of the Caue 25 wherein *Chinon* was kept. To him they made all possible speede; and first of all Syr *Calor*, addresting himselfe to fight, gins, before hee offered violence, with courteous greetings to salute hym gently, demaunding what he was that liued so desolately in that vnfrequented Iland. To whom the detested and currish 30 Carle made this vnmanly aunswere:

[M³] 'I am,' quoth hee, 'as thou seest, one within whose clawes thou and the rest of thy sawcie companions haue compassed yourselues: if therefore you will submit your selues to my mercy, then will I thus dispose of you heere within a hollow Caue 35 hewne out of this craggie Rock, wherein lyes inclosed a knight such a one as you are, who for the like offence that you now haue offered, is condemned to the eternall slauerie of perpetuall imprisonment; within shall you spend your hatefull liues, and when

for hunger you are welnie starued, fall freshly then to eate one
 anothers flesh: but if you stubbornly stand out against mee,
 thus will I dispoyle you in renting your cursed limmes peece
 meale a sunder, or els fasting you seuerall to the big bulks of
 5 some of these trees; where when the imperiall punishment of
 hastning hunger shall seaze vpon your selues, you shall there be
 inforced to eate your owne flesh, that might here haue fed vpon
 another;’ to whom *Syr Calor* thus answered:

‘Foule vglie fiend, wee come not to kneele to thee, but to
 10 force thy subiection to vs, and for the release of a Christian
 Knight that thou keepest Captiue within thy power.’

At which wordes the Giant, seeing them addresse themselues
 to fight, presently bestirs himselfe, and taking an Iron mace
 (which to that ende the Witch had prouided) lets driue at
 15 *Sir Calor* with all the might he could, from which he nimbly
 leaping away eschued the force of the fall, when as the other
 knights comming in to rescue *sir Calor*, before the Giant could
 againe get vp his weapon from the grounde, they had so
 mangled hys limmes, as he was now far vnable to fight, but
 20 falling prostrate downe before them, humblie intreats for his life:
 which they were willing to graunt, as not seeking the losse of
 him but [M³ back] the life of their friend: to whome the Giant
 gins relate all the manner of the imprisonment of *Chinon*, and at
 the last opens the doore of the Caue and calles him out to his
 25 friends, who, resaluting one another with such friendly greetings
 as are vsuall at such aduenturos accidents, take their iournie
 from thence vp into the Countrie, and for that the Giant had
 tolde them in hys former discou[r]se of the manner of *Chinons*
 imprisonment, how that *Perofus*, for whose loue all this had come
 30 about, had in *Egipt* taken Armes against the King, for that his
 treason beeing discouered he intended to recal old *Bessarian*
 from his banishment, and that his power so daylie increased as
 that it was now far greater than the Kings, they intended to
 shape their iournie thetherwards and help the king in his warres
 35 against this traiterous rebbell: where wee must let them goe
 forward a while in their iourney, and returne againe to our three
 aduenturers for their sisters libertie.

[M⁴]

CHAP. XIII.

How Bessarians sonnes met with their Father in the shape of a Beare.

Meanwhile, Bessarian's sons, now fully restored to health and strength, are on their separate ways home. By chance, one after the other they meet and attack the man-bear, their father, who narrowly escapes with his life. On the mountains Bessarian meets Perosus—just put to flight by the English knights—and seizes him.

After that these three yong men were againe restored to their former estate, [Mich]ander¹, the first of them traailing homewards to seeke againe his sifter, meetes by the way his 5 transformed Father, who, not a little glad to see his sonne, though the other, taking him for no lesse than he seemed, made some hast to fly from him, till looking backe and perceauing the scroule about his necke, for the regaining of his harts desire strikes his poore father with such a blow as, breaking 10 his sword vpon the scalpe of his head, he was forced to flie for want of weapons, fearing least the Beare should haue fallen freshly vppon him beeing tyred, when, as God knowes, the fillie man, astonished with the stroke, was rather afraid of an vnnaturall deaths wound by his sonne then willing to prosecute any reuenge 15 for the same.

Not long after [Mich]ander¹ had thus hurt his Father, comes that way the second brother, who in like case, meeting with the Beare and hoping by his death to obtaine his desire, gins with a Borespeare hee had in his hand eagerly to affayle him, in 20 so much that in [M⁴ back] short time hee had grievously wounded hym, but the head of his weapon by chance breaking off, hee was forced to flie as did his brother: to be short, the Witch that intended by the meanes of some of these sonnes to make away their father, after that the first two had fayled, brought 25 thether the third, who, eager to accomplish his desire, promised by the scroule that hung about hys fathers necke, begins a fresh fight, & so wounded his fillie fire, as that for want of blood which hys weapon had lauishly lanced out, hee was forced to fall downe, whome *Theonas* supposing to be dead, left there to 30 follow his desire.

In the meane time, whilest these thinges were thus in dooing, had there beene fought a great battaile in Egypt, betwixt *Egbaton* their king and *Perofus*, the traitour of whome before we told you:

¹ Text, *Terpander*.

where by the meanes of the Englishmen the King ouercame, and *Perosus* was put to flight: who, for his fauegard forfaking hys Countrie, betooke himselfe to the Mountaines: where, after hee had long traueiled, hee by chance met with *Bessarian* transformed, as afore wee haue told you, who hauing somewhat recouered himselfe after the wounds of his sonnes, fearing least his foe should at his sight flie away, layes fodaine holde vpon him.

At which *Perosus*, beeing afraid seeing himselfe assailed, gins make all the meanes hee could for hys escape: but the other, loath to requite him euill for hys ill dealing, in steede of such rauinous behauour as com[m]only¹ is found in such like beasts, gently fawnes vpon him, shewing himselfe rather willing to helpe him than readie to hurt him.

When *Perosus*, calling to mind hys former offence in the bewitching of the old man, and seeing by the writing about his necke that this was he whome hee [N¹] had so cruelly crost, falles downe before him & with submissiue teares intreats his pardon: to whome the Beare, though vnable to speake yet with dumbe demeanes shewing the effect of his minde, answers in dum tokens what he could not tel in plausible words: to whom *Perosus* there promised that, would hee but follow him, hee would forthwith conduct hym to the place where hys daughter was imprisoned, & where he hoped also to meet with her by whose meanes all this was brought to passe.

In the meane time, *Chinon* and his fellow knights, following their foes from the fight, by chaunce intercepted *Eutropa* the Witch as shee was flying awaie, whome presently they intending to kill, & shee knowing very well their crueltie, fell downe before them, humbly asking pardon for her life, and in requitall thereof shee would restore to liberty her for whose sake *Chinon* had suffered all this extreamity, than which *Chinon* desiring nothing more graunts her requests, whom shee presently transportes to the place where *Cassiopea* lay imprisoned: where when they came, they found her three brethren dilating vnto her theyr seuerall ill luckes; whome as soone as they came the Witch releasd from the bondage of the Rocke and falling downe on her knees askes hartie pardon for her amis, to whome the Lady, glad of her release, straight forgiues that offence; and then *Eutropa* telling

In a fright *Perosus* recognizes in the beare the man he has so cruelly wronged, and with tears begs forgiveness. *Bessarian* answers in dumb tokens, and *Perosus* conducts him to his daughter. *Chinon* and his knights intercept the Witch but spare her life on her promise to restore *Cassiopeia*. This she does, and also extols the merits of *Chinon*. *Perosus* is punished. *Bessarian* is restored to his former shape and his honours; and *Cassiopeia* and *Chinon* are united in marriage.

¹ Text, commonly.

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her the great perrill *Chinon* had ouerpasse[d] for her loue, shee with all curtesie falles downe at hys feete, submitting her selfe for requitall thereof to be disposed at hys pleasure, whom he taking vp from the ground, offer[s]¹ himselfe like wife to her.

In the meane time, whilst these folkes were thus reioycing, 5 comes in *Perofus* leading of the transformed olde man, and humbly there asking pardon of [N¹ back] them all for his offence, telling them the manner how he had found the old man, who was by the meanes of the Witch presently restored to his former 10 shape; and then returning all backe to the Court to certifie the King of their feuerall affaires. *Bessarian* was then againe restored to his dignity & *Perofus* fauerely punished for hys offence, & *Chinon* and *Cassiopia*, by the consent of their frends and mutuall loue of themselues, were matched together in marriage. 15

FINIS

¹ Text, *offering*.

NOTES

1/1. *Title-page.* The elaborate title is singularly misleading: 'The Famos. Historie of Chinon of England, with his strange aduentures for the loue of Celestina, daughter to Lewis, King of Fraunce.' This seems plainly to indicate that Celestina is the object of Chinon's devotion, whereas in fact she is reserved for Triamore. On the other hand, Cassiopeia, who awakens the passionate love of Chinon, is not mentioned before the beginning of the second half of the romance.

3. *Enisham.* Eynsham, about midway between Oxford and Witney.

3. *John Danter.* According to Arber's edition of the *Stationers' Registers*, v, 230, Danter printed and published in London from 1591 to 1597. His widow published in 1599 and 1600. He had a house in Hosier Lane, near Holborn Conduit.

For a brief sketch of Danter see *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, London Bibliographical Society, 1910, pp. 83, 84. According to this account, all his work 'was very badly printed'; and of this assertion our romance affords striking proof. Phoebe Sheavyn's *Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age* (pp. 68 ff.) remarks that for the lower forms of literature he was the printer most popular. 'He was evidently rather poor and struggling, glad to print for the stationers and glad to get hold of popular things, cheap to buy and produce, and regularly saleable.'

In the *Stationers' Registers*, ed. Arber, v, 187, we are informed that 'he was suppressed as a Master Printer 10 April 1597 . . . and was dead before 6 Oct. 1600.' His reputation for honourable dealing left much to be desired.

For the seizure of his press, see *Stationers' Registers*, i, 580, and for other references, see v, 183.

5/1. *Cador, Earle of Cornwall*, appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ix, 1, 5, 15, as a duke and a valiant leader against the Saxons. He naturally figures also in Wace's metrical version of Geoffrey's *Historia* and in Layamon's adaptation of Wace's *Brut*, but with the title of earl, as in our romance. Cador is furthermore mentioned three times in the vulgate prose *Merlin* (E.E.T.S., pp. 640, 655, 656), as one of Arthur's barons 'bolde and hardy', and active in the great campaign against the Romans, but there is no hint that he is or is to be Earl of Cornwall. He appears also in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, bk. v, chs. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, as 'Syre Cador of Cornewaile'. In bk. xxi, ch. 13, his son Constantine is made king of England after Arthur. In our romance the author carelessly designates Cador as earl or duke, with no attempt at consistency. See Index of Names.

For a discussion of Cador in the Chronicles, see Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Index; *Harvard Studies and Notes*, vol. x.

6/32. *misfortunes*. The text reads *misfortunes*, but the original form was discovered after the pages were made up.

8/8. *insuing*. The earliest example of this word (under the form *ensuing*) in the Oxford Dictionary is assigned to the year 1604.

8/29. *Tristram du-Lions*. Here we have Lions for Liones(se). Cf. Malory's *Morte Darthur*, ix, ch. 10, 'Sir Tristram de Liones that was in Brittany'. Modern scholars are unable to determine the situation of Lyonesse.

8/31. *many millions of other braue Gallants*. If we may trust our author, we must assume that more millions were to be found at Arthur's court than in all England at the time of the Domesday survey! For another instance of the author's generous use of millions, see 12/20.

9/6. *no substance without his accident*. See Locke's comment on substance and accident in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. II, ch. 13, sects. 19, 20.

For some account of the gradual substitution of *its* for *his* after A. D. 1600 see Trench, *English Past and Present* (ed. Mayhew), pp. 148-52.

9/37. *a sayre aspect from those powerfull plannets that guides the disireffed estate of his ficklie soul*. Astrology, we need hardly remark, was seriously studied as a science throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it lost nearly all credit after Swift's famous satire on Partridge the astrologer in the *Prediction for the Year 1708*.

11/25. *went in to take his leaue*. Lancelot's sudden departure to 'seeke strange adventures in foraine coastes' without waiting to find what the answer is to be to his avowal of love is thoroughly typical of the ways of suitors in medieval romance.

11/29. *forced to leaue his Country*. To the modern reader the obligation is not obvious.

12/7. *for to supply*. Cf. *for to trie*, 14/6, *for to assay*, 28/9. This use of *for to*, now obsolete or vulgar, dates back as early as the twelfth century, but it was going out of fashion at the end of the sixteenth. Cf. Oxford Dict., s.v. *for*, A 11; Abbott, *Shakespearian Gram.*, sect. 152; Kellner, *Hist. Outlines of Engl. Syntax*, sect. 295.

12/13. *Lancelot his vowed brother*. That is, his sworn brother in arms. For perhaps the most striking medieval example of this type of relationship, see the romance of *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. Kölbing, Heilbronn, 1884; cf. also *Sir Eger and Sir Grine* in the *Percy Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, i, 354-400, especially after l. 46.

12/18. *saw . . . admits*. The mixture of present and past tenses in the same sentence, so characteristic of the style of *Chinon*, is of course merely a continuation of a common feature of M.E. writing.

Cf. 'had . . . tane . . . and cuts', 12/29; 'rides foorth till they came', 33/15; 'rayses her up and thus replied', 35/31, &c.

12/29. *tane*. Cf. 37/7. For the disappearance of the *k*, see Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, p. 248.

16/6. *Triamore, sonne to the Duke of Brittain*. This is a decidedly new origin for Triamore. In the romance of *Sir Triamour* he is the son of Arduus, king of Aragon. For a convenient analysis of the romance see Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, 1050-1400, p. 121; and in greater detail, Ellis, *Early English Metrical Romances* (Bohn), pp. 491-505.

In the romance of *Sir Launfal* Triamour is the name of

'The kinges daughter of Oliroun

Her father was king of Faerie . . .

A man of mickle might'.

For a text of the verse romance of *Sir Triamore*, see Hales and Furnivall, *Percy Folio MS.*, i, 78-135.

16/8. Prince = princess. For similar use of *prince* as applied to a female sovereign, see Oxford Dictionary.

17/28. *then*. Here as in Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers *then* and *than* are freely interchanged. See Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar* (Index), and the glossary to *Chinon*.

18/30. *cauileers*. This word is cited in the Oxford Dictionary under the year 1470 in the form *caualers*, and under 1598 in Barrett's glossary of terms of war as Italian, *cauagliere* (for English *knight*); but the passage in our text appears to present one of the earliest instances of its use in *connected* composition in the sense of knight.

19/27. *to thee will I giue*, &c. Lancelot's generosity in surrendering his prize to Triamore may be compared with his similar generosity in giving up to Sir Tristram the prize he has won in a tournament, as recounted in Malory's *Morte Darthur* (ed. Sommer), pp. 394-411.

20/20. *assemblant*. The Oxford Dictionary defines this word as 'semblance, appearance, show'; but here it seems to mean each individual in the assembly.

22/10. *Princes were*. The text here seems to be improved by supplying *who* before *were*.

22/13. *in short time landed all his men*. We are not told how short the time was, but in view of the fact that the messenger to the Soldan had to traverse the entire length of the Mediterranean, to say nothing of the time required for equipping and transporting the army, we see that we have a situation possible only in romance.

24/9. *he went out*. He seems loosely to indicate the wailing sound coming out of the den, though the author refers to 'cryes', 'moanes', and 'echoes'.

24/13. *loffe*. This word must be wrong, and there is a temptation to read *lasse*; but *lass*, though already used for some two hundred years before *Chinon*, appears to belong to poetry while prose employs *damself*. Some word has probably dropped out, and *loffe* should perhaps be *loft*. In any case the sense appears to be—'the release of this lost (or tormented) soul', cp. I, 1.

24/16. *a mightie Monster, framed with the deceitfull face of a faire woman, but the big body of a subtyll Serpent*. The belief was widely prevalent in the Middle Ages that the serpent which tempted Eve had the face of a woman; and Raphael follows the tradition in his famous picture of the Temptation in the Garden. Incidentally, we may note that in ancient times 'paintings and bronze and silver statues of the new god Glycon, in the form of a snake with human face, exhibited by Alexander of Abonuteichos to his faithful followers, were to be procured in Paphlagonia and the neighbouring districts.' Alexander was exposed by Lucian. See Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners* (Tr. by Freese and Magnus), ii, 299.

In *Libeaus Desconus*, ll. 2094 ff. (ed. Kaluza), where Libeaus has entered the

enchanted palace and there won a victory, a serpent with the face of a woman encircles him and kisses him, thereupon turning into a lovely maiden. Cf. also Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, canto xxxiv, 79.

24/19. *Castle carrying Elephant*. The tower or castle borne upon the back of an elephant is referred to in romances and other works from 1380 till the appearance of our romance in 1597. Note the four examples under *Castle* in the Oxford Dictionary, antedating the publication of *Chinon*.

It is needless to call attention to the famous London public house, the 'Elephant and Castle', which belongs to a period far later than our romance.

24/30. *comfort*. This reading, in the sense of 'company', is probably right. The same play on words occurs in 57/32.

25/6. *Chinon*, text, *Chiunon*.

26/3. *vnacustomable antomes*. Is *antomes* here used loosely and inaccurately for *anthems* in the sense of music or sounds? The spelling *antems* is found in the sixteenth century. See Oxford Dictionary, s.v. *anthem*.

26/22. *Promontany* = promontory. This word, not elsewhere found, and not noticed in the Oxford Dictionary, is quite possibly nothing more than the blunder of a hurried printer who might easily mistake in a badly written MS. an *o* for an *a* and an *r* for an *n*.

27/6. *no man but a maiden Knight Can free him*, i. e. no one but a knight newly made, one without experience. Cf. 'my Mayden manhood', 36/33, and see Oxford Dictionary, s.v. *maiden*, ii, 5, d.

28/5. *his vnwieldy weapon*. The author is inconsistent in the gender he gives the monster. In the next sentence the beast is a female!

28/14. *when hee*. *Hee* is left dangling with no verb, but the sense is clear enough.

29/28. *wordes, such as commonly passe*, &c. A favourite expression of our author. Cf. 37/18, 50/31, 65/25.

30/7. *Oboram there King*. As already observed in the introduction, the author of *Chinon* evidently drew largely upon the romance of *Huon of Burdeux*, in which Oberon, king of the fairies, plays a leading part. In this romance (ed. E.E.T.S.), pp. 380 ff., we find a possible source of the adventure of Chinon in Oboram's domain. After many exploits Huon sails to the Castle of Adamant, high upon a rock. At the entrance a gate bears an inscription announcing that the castle can be entered only by the worthiest of all knights (p. 380) and that he must fight the great serpent which guards the place. Huon fights, as Chinon does, and finds that his weapon makes no impression (p. 382, cf. *Chinon*, 27/36 f.). 'And the serpent, when he felte hymselfe stryken cast his tayle about Huon by such fors that Huon ouerthrow to y^e erthe.' Chinon gets a blow from the serpent he is fighting with (27/38) 'as perforce beat him downe to the grounde and almoſt banished the breath from his body.' Further details vary, but of course Huon, like Chinon, wins the fight.

Oberon appears also in an important role in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, assigned by Sir Sidney Lee to 1595, two years before *Chinon* was printed. Spenser introduces Oberon *F.Q.* II, canto 1, st. 6, and along with him Sir Huon. In II, 10, st. 75, he uses Oberon's name to designate the not altogether fairy-like Henry VIII. Ben Jonson's masque, *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*, belongs to the year 1610. See also Sidney Lee's Introduction to *Huon*

of *Burdeux* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 1, li, for the place of Oberon in Elizabethan literature.

For an interesting discussion of Oberon (Auberon), with valuable bibliographical notes, see Lucy A. Paton's *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, pp. 124-35.

30/18 ff. *sword*. The incident of the sword pulled out of the rock was most likely suggested by the exploit of Arthur in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Book I, ch. 3; and Malory's account is obviously based upon the vulgate *Merlin* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 98-107, which gives a more picturesque story than Malory's. For numerous other parallels, see note in my edition of Malory, pp. 248, 249 (Athenaeum Press Series).

Compare also the futile attempts of the knights of the Round Table, all except Balen, to pull out of its sheath a sword brought by a damsel sent by 'the grete lady Lylle of Avelyon.' Malory, *Morte Darthur*, Bk. II, ch. 1, 2.

For a list of marvellous swords, see Lucy A. Paton's *Fairy Mythology*, p. 199, note.

30/21. *which sword was artificially framed for Iulius Caesar*. The dragging in of the name of Julius Caesar is not wholly due to Middleton's invention. In the romance of *Huon of Burdeux* (E.E.T.S.), p. 72, Caesar is named as the father of Oberon, and hence we can account for the sword in the possession of the Oboram of our romance.

For other legendary tradition concerning Caesar's sword, see Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, Bk. IV, ch. 4, 5.

30/25. *the valiant Romane was . . . flaine in the Senate*. So too in *Huon of Burdeux* (E.E.T.S.), p. 412, we read, 'Tydynges came to the knowlege of kynge Oberon that his father, Iulius Cesar, was slayne and murderyd within the senat of Rome.'

31/25. *rich Armour*. The sword and armour that Chinon receives from Oboram may be compared with the gifts conferred upon Huon of Bordeaux by Oboron—a magic cup and horn, and a suit of armour. See romance of *Huon of Burdeux* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 76-8, 169.

31/39. *Dwarffe*. From the most ancient times, when one of the kings of Egypt gives minute directions for the safe keeping of a dwarf who is to be brought down the Nile to be one of his favourites, and even long after the date popularly accepted as marking the close of the Middle Ages, dwarfs were a common feature of a court, and they not unnaturally often appear in medieval romances. As a rule their temper is none of the best, and they often make up for their diminutive size by their insolence. Cf. e. g. Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec*, ll. 140 ff.; the *Mabinogion* story of *Geraint*, based on *Erec*, &c. See also Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, vol. i, Index; Paul, *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, Index, &c. Visitors to the Prado Gallery in Madrid will recall Velasquez's famous painting of the dwarfs of the Spanish court.

32/9. *Jodaine trance*. The author's favourite device for transporting his characters from place to place is to take them through the air. Cf. 41/26, 51/31, 67/32. For this he doubtless drew upon his classical knowledge.

32/18. *farre more worse*. For numerous examples of old double comparatives, see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 22, and Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, pp. 159, 160.

32/24. *a nother*. For examples of *nother*, with *n* transferred from the article *an*, see Oxford Dictionary, s. v.

33/23. *Triamore pretending himfelfe to be . . . an Inchauntresse*. In dealing with pagans, Christian knights in the romances commonly lie freely. Note also the pious conversation between Lancelot and Guinevere when they are caught together, Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Bk. xx, ch. 3, and his subsequent talk with King Arthur, ch. 14. In most medieval romances morality is quite divorced from religion.

33/29. *posing him in the relation of kings past*. May we assume *kings* to be a misprint for *things*?

35/23. *the Thracian Damofell*, i. e. Eurydice.

36/16. *for thee*. This is the reading of the text, but the first *e* is dotted and looks like an *i*.

37/8. *her father's Court*. But the plan was to marry her at *his* (Triamore's) father's court. See 21/35 ff. and 36/35.

37/19. *vnacquainted*. An obsolete meaning (cited in the Oxford Dictionary) is *unusual, strange*. Here the meaning appears to be *unexpected*.

37/23. *Lancelot, hee presents to hys loue the Trophies of his victorie*. But these trophies, we are told (p. 20), he had already sent by a messenger!

37/31. The exact meaning of the lines following *where what* is not clear, and the passage is certainly corrupt. But the sense appears to be that the joy felt by the company in general was shared by King Arthur himself, whose life still lasts, &c.

If line 33 is taken to refer to Celestina, it yields no very intelligible meaning.

38/1. *Calcos*. A blunder for Colchis, the scene of Jason's famous exploit in winning the Golden Fleece.

39/9. *spending the pride of his dayes at home in daliance*. This sort of easy life the Middle Ages judged very harshly. See Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec*, and the corresponding tale in the *Mabinogion* of *Geraint the son of Erbin*. For comment on *verligen*, see Schultz, *Das Höfische Leben*, ii, 1 and Förster's edition of the *Erec* of Chrétien de Troyes (*Rom. Bibl.* xiii), pp. xvii, xviii.

39/24. *fearing the secrete corners*. Miss Day, Assistant Director of the E.E.T.S., suggests that the reference is to the marking out of fairy-rings, made by *searing* the grass. This may be correct, but fairies are commonly supposed to have made the rings by dancing in a circle, and there is no evidence that fairies' feet are hot enough to sear anything. Possibly we should read *fearing*.

39/32. *show of a faire Virgin*. This well-worn motive, which in medieval romances often set hearts in a flutter, calls forth Chaucer's good-natured satire. His Sir Thopas sees an elf queen in a dream and then rides madly off in search of her. In the *Mabinogion* the emperor Maxen Wledig dreams of a maiden of marvellous beauty and after long journeying finally discovers and wins her. Cf. also Dunlop's *History of Fiction* (ed. Ellis), i, 260.

Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 136, notes as 'one of the most familiar of all Arthurian *données*—the lady who loves Gawain without having seen him. . . . I might have said one of the best known in all literature. "C'est là un trait que se rencontre dans nombre de fictions romanesques depuis a plus haute antiquité."'

40/11. *Beffarian*. It is at least possible that this uncommon name may have been suggested by the name of the famous Johannes Bessarion (b. 1395?

d. 1472), titular patriarch of Constantinople, who had a great reputation as a philologist and philosopher.

40/21. *change the fetled affections*. The help of a witch or a sorceress to gain the affections was often invoked in ancient and medieval times. A famous instance in medieval literature is *Dame Sirith*. For an easily accessible text, see Cook's *Literary Middle English Reader*, pp. 141-58, or MacKnight's *Middle English Humorous Tales in Verse*, pp. 1-24.

41/4. *teares, whose power were able*. A typical case of the author's syntax.

41/6. *that siluerstreame*. If the romancer had ever seen the Nile he would perhaps have written *muddy*!

41/6. *seauen heads*. 'In ancient times the Delta was watered by seven branches; now there are but two, the other ancient branches being canals not always navigable.' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., s. v. *Egypt*.

41/10. *Arions Harpe*. See note to 50/10.

41/28. *ouerroad*. A relative pronoun referring to Medea is obviously required to complete the sense.

42/4. *consent* in original text.

42/5. *poore soule*. For other instances of this expression in *Chinon*, see 41/13, 46/8, 48/38, 50/8, 54/13, 56/1, 60/2, 60/24.

42/26. *workes meanes*. The passage is needlessly obscure, but it becomes reasonably clear if we supply 'the witch Eutropa' as the missing subject of *workes*.

44/14. *west*—west, or waste, desert. In this passage either meaning yields in effect substantially the same sense, for all west Egypt is waste, and people cannot to any great extent inhabit 'these spacious plaines'.

44/20. *undeserued*. We may perhaps assume in the king's mind the meaning—'thoughts that I have not deserved'.

44/23. *I, I, I see*. Doubtless the first two *I*'s are exclamatory, the modern *ay*.

44/35. *evill*. Misprint for *ciuill*.

45/25. *speculative glasse*. Cf. 47/23, 64/9. The crystal globe, used for discovering secret or future things, was extremely common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The famous Dr. Dee, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, used it very extensively. See the sketch of his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

45/36. *inclofes . . . within the ruine of an olde Rocke*. Bespelled princesses are a commonplace of romances and fairy tales. See e.g. Kittredge's discussion in *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 115 ff., 237-56; Schofield, *Libeaus Desconus* (Harvard), *Studies and Notes*, iv, 47 ff.; Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 195.

46/29. *an vgly Beare*. Bessarian's transformation into the shape of a bear recalls Vergil's account of the magic of Circe at the beginning of Book VII of the *Aeneid*. With this may be compared the story in the *Odyssey*, v, 146, of the transformation by Circe of the companions of Odysseus into swine. The classical student need not be reminded of the manifold shape shifting in *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius.

In view of the obvious acquaintance of Middleton with the romance of *Huon of Burdeaux* it is perhaps not without significance that on p. 111 (ed. of E.E.T.S.) Oberon changes Malabron into the shape of a bear which afterwards carries Huon on his back up the Nile, and that in the same romance, p. 592,

a monk tells Huon that certain other monks whom he has seen have been changed by divine displeasure into the likeness of bears, were-wolves, &c.

Worth noting, too, is the fact that in George Peele's farce, *The Old Wives' Tale*, printed in 1595, two years before *Chinon*, appears Erestus as a tottering old man at a cross, where he tells the two brothers who are seeking their sister that the sorcerer Sacropant,

'Did seek the means to rid me of my life.

But worse than this, he with his 'chanting spells
Did turn me straight into an ugly bear,' &c.

Peele's Works, ed. Dyce, p. 447.

Similar marvels are common in folk-tales and in primitive belief. See e.g. Grimm's *Hausmärchen*. For numerous details on transformations of all sorts, see A. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, vol. ii (Grimm Library); Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901; Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1916, and *Arthur and Gorlagon* (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, viii, 170-1; and, particularly, Leubuscher, *Über die Werwölfe und Tierverwandlungen im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1850; Lucy A. Paton's *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (1903), pp. 23, 24, 100, 101, 192.

48/4. *the Huntresse*, i. e. Diana.

48/11. *the envious Stone closes his fides*. The conception of rocks that open and shut may have been suggested to the author by the classic myth of the Symplegades, which appears in the legend of the Argonauts. The Symplegades were two cliffs or rocky islets at the entrance to the Black Sea from the Bosphorus, that continually smote each other and crushed all that came between them.

For further discussion and references, see A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, in (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, viii, 81 ff., and, in particular, Lowrie, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxi, 106 ff.

48/35. *Taurus, that . . . gyrdells in the wyde Continent of flowring Asia*. Her geography is somewhat vague. The Taurus mountains are only on the south side of *Asia Minor*.

49/3. *Shee* is, of course, the object of *ordained*, but grammatical correctness is not a matter of special concern to our author.

49/11. *Cockatrice*. 'A fabulous serpent whose breath and look were said to be fatal'.

49/31. *offered to haue kiffed her hand for ioy*. His sister's hand, after his long and agonizing search!

50/10. *Arion's Harpe*. Cf. 41/10. The tale of Arion riding upon the back of a dolphin is taken from the well-known story of Arion told by Herodotus, i, 24, and repeated by Aulus Gellius, xvi, 19, by Hyginus, *Fab.* 194, &c. The 'pirates' who in *Chinon* cast him into the sea were really the sailors on the ship conveying him home to Corinth.

54/1. *the olde Giances . . . heaping hill vpon hil*, i. e. the Titans, who attempted to scale heaven by piling Ossa upon Pelion.

55/21. *retorquation*. Not cited in the Oxford Dictionary, though *retorqued*, *pph. adj.*, 'twisted or turned back', is found.

55/21. *ouer fight*. These two words are doubtless to be taken as one, in the sense of *sight* or *glance*.

56/5. *Viall, beginning to warme.* The story of this magic vial is possibly suggested by the myth of the poisoned shirt of Hercules, which, as we see, 56/9, the author has in mind.

56/12. *leaving the way should lead him.* For the common omission of relative pronouns in Elizabethan English, see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, sect. 244.

56/15. *that had now left, &c.* Obviously, *that* refers to *himselfe*, i.e. Michander.

57/4. *Canniball.* On this word, see an article by Trumbull in *Notes and Queries*, ser. v, iv. 171.

57/9. *forme of a Dogge.* The dog-man was possibly suggested by the dog-headed Anubis of the Egyptians or more probably by the Cynocephalus, mentioned by Pliny, which may be the well-known baboon.

58/5. *the sweete tenth of these siluer sounding strings.* The tenth is 'the interval between any tone and the tone represented on the tenth degree of the staff above it'.

58/14. *hope, for helpe?*

58/15. *where, comming.* The construction is badly broken, but it is made intelligible enough by suppressing the comma and changing *comming* to *he came*.

58/19. *ouer whome.* The antecedent of *whome* is clearly *Altar* or *cloth of gold*. Cf. *Dogge whome*, 57/4. For other instances of *who* or *whom* personifying irrational antecedents, see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, pp. 179-81, and Morris, *English Accidence*, Index.

60/16. *in hys hand*, i.e. if his hand seized them.

61/5. *takes home the neereſt waye*, i.e. takes the nearest way home.

61/10. *findes a Boate.* May we suppose that this story of the boat that receives the mad Chinon is a reminiscence drawn from Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Book xvii, ch. 13, of the wandering ship in which Lancelot is carried, or is it suggested by the vessel in which Huon of Bordeaux is transported with incredible swiftness through the sea? Cf. *Huon of Burdeux* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 439 ff. ? It is, however, needless to remark that the rudderless boat is a commonplace of medieval and, particularly, of Celtic romance. See my note in *Selections from Malory's Morte Darthur*, p. 259; A. C. L. Brown, *Ivain* (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, viii, p. 96, note, and Lucy A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Radcliffe College Monographs, xiii), p. 16.

61/26. *we told ye of.* For the use of *ye* both as nominative and as accusative in Elizabethan English, see Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, sect. 236.

62/17. *clift of a Rocke, againſt which ſhe rouled vp a mightie ſtone.* Cf. Oboram's cave (24/27), where the monster—Oboram in disguise—'quickly roules vp againſt the mouth of the hole a mightie ſtone'.

63/4. *were thus . . . effecting.* Note this interesting form of the passive, still in use but gradually disappearing.

63/34. *Sir Calor . . . Sonne vnto Sir Lancelot du Lake and the beauteous Celeſtina.* For a discussion of this absurdity, see Introduction, sect. vii.

64/1. *whoſe Parents Chinon . . . reſcued.* We may, perhaps, safely assume (cf. 22/2 ff.) that Celestina's parents accompany her on the way to the castle of Sir Triamore's father, where she is to be married. But in the attack

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on the company by the Soldan's men we are told (22/34 f.) that 'sawe onely *Lancelot*, *Tristram*, and *Triamore* all were slaine', and Celestina conveyed away. No mention is made of her parents. In Chapter V we learn how Chinon and Triamore rescue Celestina from the Soldan, but here too there is no mention of her parents.

64/5. *Merlin*. The great prophet and enchanter is a mighty supporter of King Arthur and has marvellous powers which are exploited in the romance of *Merlin*, published by the E.E.T.S., but in that romance there is no mention of the 'speculative glasse'. See note to 45/25.

For an outline history of the Merlin legend in English and other literatures, see my account in the introduction to the E.E.T.S. edition, London, 1899.

65/13. *an Iron mace*. The usual weapon of giants, who, as a rule, are a very stupid lot. Commonly, the giant strikes out fiercely with the mace, which sticks in the ground, and before he can recover it his diminutive but more nimble foe has overcome him.

68/4. *offering himselfe*. *Offering for offers*.

GLOSSARY

a, *prep.*, on, *leaping a land*, 61/21.
Cf. *ashore*, *afoot*, &c.

aboad, *sb.*, *abode*, 6/11.

abode, *sb.*, *stay*, 21/25.

accustomably, *adv.*, *customarily*, usually, 23/33, 50/31.

amis, *sb.*, *error*, *fault*, 45/14, 67/37.

antomes, *sb.*, see note to 26/3.

approve, *vb.*, *test*, *try*, *prove*, 31/5.

arise, *sb.*, *rising*, 33/7.

artificially, *adv.*, *artistically*, *skillfully*, 30/21.

affemblant, *sb.*, 20/20. See note.

banquet, *sb.*, *banquet*, *feast*, 38/15.

bewray, *vb.*, *make known*, 52/32.

bootleffe, *adj.*, *unprofitable*, 21/25.

care, *sb.*, *car*, 41/26.

careful, *adj.*, *anxious*, *troubled*, 7/28.

cense, *vb.*, *burn incense before*, *to perfume*, 11/18, 58/22.

chiualrie, *sb.*, *feats of arms*, 16/27.

cocodrive, *sb.*, *crocodile*, 55/18.

comfortable, *adj.*, *comforting*, 51/17.

conceit, *sb.*, *thought*, *conception*, *fancy*, *favorable opinion*, 21/38, 24/25, 29/8, 40/19, 42/3.

conceited, *adj.*, *ingeniously devised*, 16/17.

comfort, *sb.*, *accompaniment*, *company*, 57/32.

corfiue, *sb.*, *corrosive*, i.e. *annoyance*, *grief*, 7/27.

couloring, *adj.*, *embellishing*, 6/29.

countenance, *sb.*, (improperly) for *continuance*, 43/36. See Oxford Dictionary, s. v. *countenance*, III, † 11.

crofbiting, *sb.*, *deception*, *cheating*, 31/10.

croffe, *adj.*, *perverse*, *contrarious*, 63/11.

croft, *pp.*, *opposed*, *thwarted*, 67/16.

curtle-axe, *sb.*, *a short broad cutting sword*, *a cutlass*, 17/23.

cynge, *pp.*, *singed*, *scorched*, 53/7.

daunger, *sb.*, *power to harm*, 56/19.

declining, *vbl. sb.*, *turning*, *diverting*, *directing*, 14/33.

demeanes, *sb.*, *behaviour*, *demeanour*, 58/12, 67/19.

defart, *adj.*, *desert*, 13/22.

dimes, *vb.*, *dims*, *dazzles*, 15/24.

dispoſe, *sb.*, *disposal*, 8/4.

drift, *sb.*, *scheme*, *plot*, *device*, 46/18.

dumpe, *sb.*, *dejection*, *depression*, 18/2.

dung, *pp.* (of *ding*), *struck*, *beaten down*, 17/1.

eies, *sb.*, *eyes*, 6/35.

enſtauled, *pp.*, *invested with*, 6/30.

epethites, *sb.*, *phrases*, *expressions*, 20/31, 38/19.

eſchue, *vb.*, *avoid*, *escape*, 27/26, 65/16.

eſpials, *sb.*, *spies*, 22/9.

eſterne, *adj.*, *eastern*, 19/5.

farder, *adj.*, *farther*, 51/36.

fond, *adj.*, *foolish*, 61/29.

forcefiue, *adj.*, *powerful*, 34/22.

foyle, *sb.*, *defeat*, 60/5.

fraught, *pple. adj.*, *filled*, 15/8.

furdering, *vbl. sb.*, *furthering*, 14/17.

gin, *sb.*, *snare*, 46/11.

gins, *vb.*, *begins*, 27/10, 28/19, and often.

goles, *sb.*, *goals*, 58/27.

goſhauke, *sb.*, *a large short-winged hawk*, 17/12.

hap, *sb.*, *chance*, *fortune*, *prosperity*, 6/15.

harrald, *sb.*, *herald*, 14/37.

huffe, *sb.*, *hoof*, 44/7.

inforſiue, *adj.*, *compulsive*, *convincing*, 34/33, 43/11.

inſconſing, *adj.*, *protecting*, *covering*, 27/34.

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instantly, *adv.*, earnestly, 8/3.
 infuing, *adj.*, following, coming
 next, 8/8, 23/24.
 intermissione, *adj.*, coming at in-
 tervals, 40/16, 43/11.

kinde, *sb.*, nature, 59/29.

least, *conj.*, lest, 10/22.
 let, *sb.*, obstacle, hindrance, 37/13.
 lustie, *adj.*, strong, massive, 15/25.

mauger, *prep.*, in spite of, 34/6.
 meanes, *sb.*, intercession, 63/7.
 misliking, *adj.*, unpleasant, un-
 harmonious, 46/4.
 moytie, *sb.*, part, 14/18.

ought, *vb. pret.*, owed, 48/26.
 ouercloied, *pp.*, surfeited, satiated,
 29/26.
 ouerpent, *pp.*, finished, brought to
 an end, 26/15.
 ouerwent, *vb. pt.*, outstripped, 60/
 18.

passengers, *sb.*, passers by, 33/19.
 perforced, *pp.*, compelled, 53/28.
 phislike, *adj.*, natural, 42/5.
 port, *sb.*, state, retinue, magnificence,
 15/36.

portrait, *vb.*, portray, 40/4.
 pose, *vb.*, question, 33/29.
 posie, *sb.*, motto, 31/38.
 prease, *vb.*, press, 20/18.
 pretended, *pp.*, intended, 14/21,
 22/10, 35/11, 42/34, 43/21, 58/8.
 promontany, *sb.*, promontory, 26/22.
 See note.

puissant, *adj.*, puissant, mighty, 22/
 16.
 pufance, *sb.*, puissance, power, 21/30.

raced, *pp.*, erased, 9/6. See Oxford
 Dict., s.v. *race*, v.³
 refraine, *vb.*, to put a restraint or
 check upon, 38/36.
 regreete, *vb.*, to resalute, 29/27.
 remove, *sb.*, removal, 42/17

renting, *vbl. sb.*, rending, tearing,
 65/3.

refort, *sb.*, coming, visit, 20/25.
 retorquation, *sb.*, twisting or turning
 back, 55/21.

rigour, *sb.*, violence, 60/36.
 rosiall, *adj.*, rosy, 18/5.

scituate, *adj.*, situated, 22/26.
 scriking, *adj.*, shrieking, 24/6.
 sillie, *adj.*, innocent, simple, mere,
 humble, 14/27, 39/5, 43/37, 58/3,
 66/13, 28.

sodaine, *sb.*, sudden, 45/22.

sower, *adj.*, sour, 23/21.

stroken, *pp.* (of *strike*), struck,
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 also striken, 61/31.

tane, *pp.*, taken, 12/29, 37/7.
 temperature, *sb.*, temper, 31/7
 testament, *sb.*, testimony, oath, 44/
 33.
 then, *conj.*, than, 17/28, 18/36, 27/
 35, 66/15. But also than, 19/4,
 66/7. See note to 17/28.

thether, *adv.*, thither, 47/31, 50/11,
 59/8, 66/26.

thoroughly, *adv.*, thoroughly, 33/11.
 tuition, *sb.*, care, keeping, gover-
 nance, 44/13.

turtle, *sb.*, the turtle dove, 38/30.

vnacquainted, *adj.*, unfamiliar,
 18/23.

vndeferued, *adj.*, unworthy, 44/20.
 See note.

vnwildie, *adj.*, unwieldy, 55/24.

vale, *sb.*, veil, 21/3.

were, *vb.*, wear, 31/7.

west, *adj.*, west or waste. See note
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whether, *adv.*, whither, 8/23, 26/11,
 30/32, 45/35, 55/5, 61/18. But
 27/11 requires the modern sense of
 whether, and 61/13 has the modern
 form *whither*.

wound, *part. adj.*, wound up, en-
 veloped, encompassed, 52/27.

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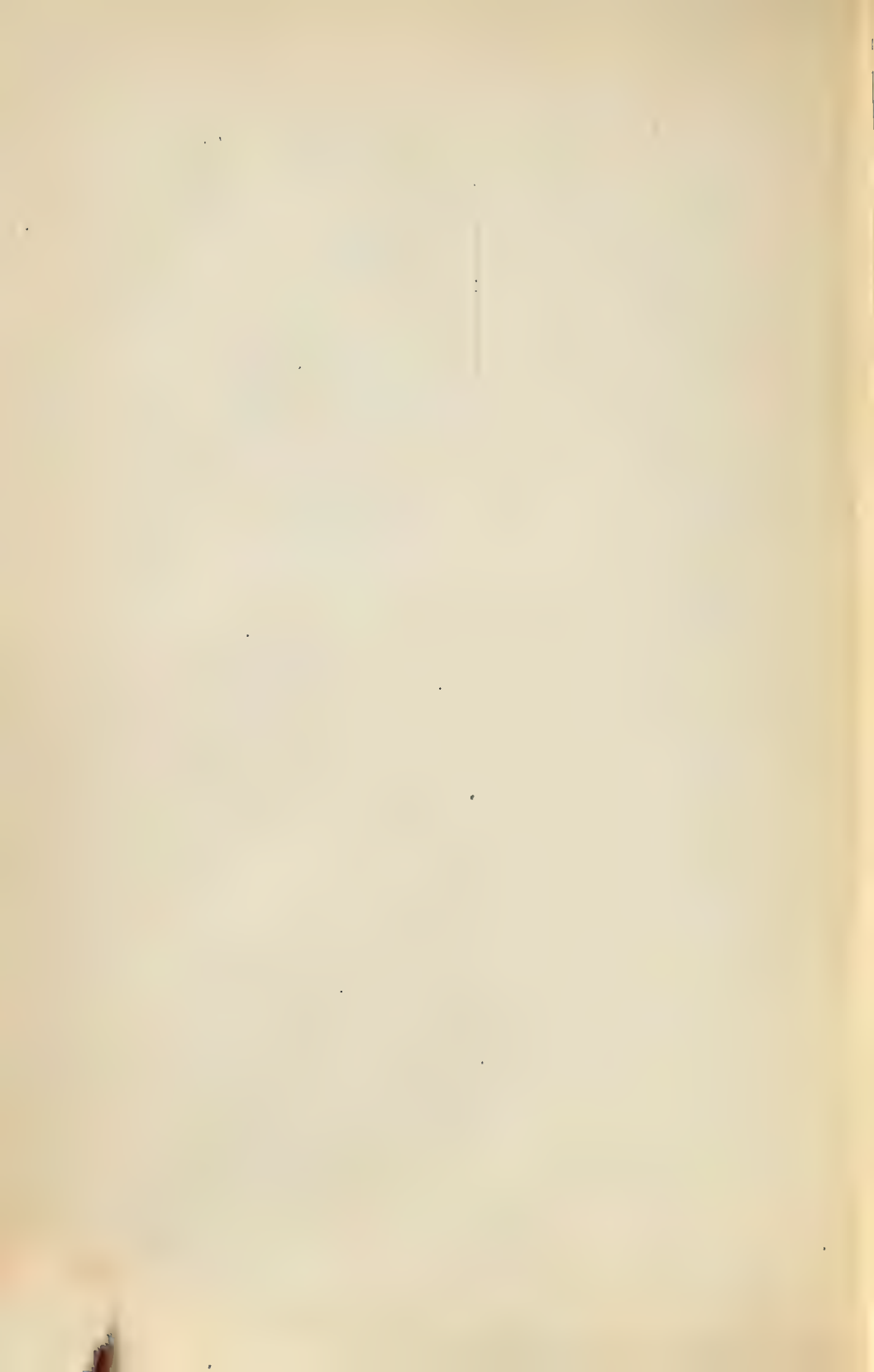
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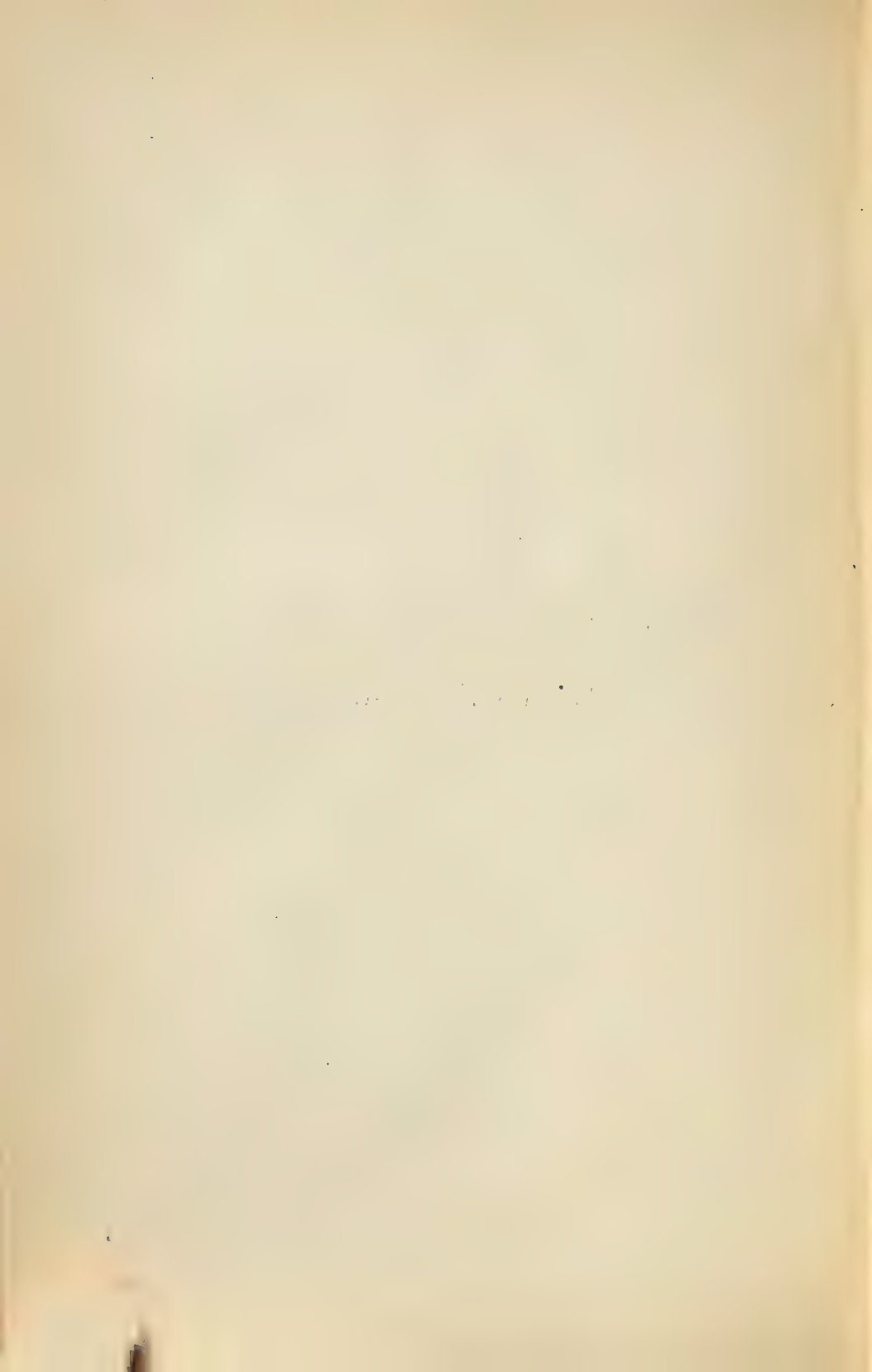
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Robinson's
Assertion of King Arthure
with the Latin Original of Leland



PREFACE

IN reprinting the work of Leland and of his translator Robinson I have endeavoured to reproduce the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the original printed copies. Both Leland and Robinson were familiar with the typographical conventions of their time and may safely be permitted to reappear in their old-fashioned garb, if not in facsimile.¹ The old punctuation is not uniformly consistent, according to modern notions, but the variations are relatively unimportant. In many passages the punctuation is surprisingly modern and practically in accord with present-day usage. In Middleton's *Chinon*, on the other hand, the original punctuation contributes materially to the confusion caused by the abnormally long sentences.

It was my original intention to annotate Robinson's translation throughout, and thus at the same time to annotate Leland's *Assertio*; but on further consideration I decided that since the chief reason for reprinting Leland's little treatise and the English translation was to give some notion of the attitude of educated men in the sixteenth century toward the question of Arthurian origins, elaborate annotation would hardly warrant the trouble, to say nothing of the expense of printing.

For the transcription of the text of Leland I am indebted to a professional copyist, and for that of Robinson's version,

¹ Leland's *Assertio* is excellently printed in clear roman type. Robinson's translation is in large measure in black-letter interspersed with passages in roman and in italics. The variety of type used in the reprint may perhaps give some idea of the typographical variations of the original.

in large measure to my wife. Miss Mabel Day, D.Lit., Assistant Director and Secretary of the Early English Text Society, has attended to various details relating to the printing, and has assisted in reading the proof with the originals in the British Museum; and although proof-reading is rarely infallible, I trust that the present reprints adequately represent the texts on which they are based.

In conclusion, I wish to offer my sincere thanks to Sir Israel Gollancz, Honorary Director of the Early English Text Society, without whose co-operation this work would not have been possible.

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INTRODUCTION

JOHN LELAND's argument for the historical existence of King Arthur, the *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturij Regis Britanniae*, published in 1544, and the translation of the same by Richard Robinson, published in 1582, may most conveniently be considered together. The reprint of the *Assertio* is based upon a copy in the British Museum,¹ and that of Robinson's translation of the *Assertio* upon a copy also found in the British Museum.² 'All of Leland's works', remarks the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 'are now very rare.' The library of Harvard University has a copy of Leland's *Assertio* and of Robinson's translation, but such a possession is a marked exception. For all practical purposes both the *Assertio* and Robinson's English version have been inaccessible to most scholars for generations. In view of the decay of classical studies it is possible that Robinson's quaint translation may prove not merely curious but useful to modern readers who desire to know in some detail the popular opinion in the sixteenth century concerning King Arthur.

The essential facts in the lives of Leland (1506?–1552) and of Robinson (*fl.* 1576–1601) are presented in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and, except in barest outline, need not be repeated here.³ Leland was educated at St. Paul's School, and received his B.A. at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1522, when only sixteen years of age. He later pursued his studies at All Souls College, Oxford, and at the University of Paris, returning to his native land with a mastery of Latin and Greek and a competent

¹ The British Museum has four copies of the *Assertio*, including one on vellum—all dated 1544.

² The Museum has two copies of Robinson's translation, published in 1582.

³ The antiquary Edward Burton brought out in 1896 *The Life of John Leland*, with a biography of his works. See also the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, iii. 374 ff.

acquaintance with French, Spanish, and Italian. In 1533 he was appointed King's antiquary and was busily occupied from about 1534 to 1543 in an antiquarian tour about England, during which he gave particular attention to the monastic libraries. Out of the wreckage caused by the dissolution of the ancient monasteries he was able to rescue some valuable manuscripts, but, to his great distress, a vast number were lost or wantonly destroyed. Shortly after his long peregrination, which took him into every corner of England, he published his *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturij* in his thirty-eighth year. But the overstraining of his powers at length broke down his reason, and in his forty-sixth year he died, after having been long insane.

Leland was the first notable antiquarian in England, and as such deserves all honour.¹ Doubtless as a scholar of recognized rank he hesitated to make any serious contribution to scholarship or literature by using the vernacular, and he followed the example of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More by publishing in Latin all the works that he brought out in his lifetime, with the single exception of his account of his search for antiquities, which appeared in a quaint English dress. Leland wrote Latin with the ready fluency of a scholar trained in the traditions of the Renaissance and naturally employed it in the *Assertio*, though the nature of his topic compelled him to adopt many terms unknown to classical literature. Notwithstanding his learning he lacked the special equipment and the keen critical sense that are required in dealing with the thorny question of Arthurian origins; and his disquisition upon Arthur is more notable for heat than light.

His wrath had been stirred by the scepticism of Polydore Vergil, his contemporary rival trained in the schools of Italy, who approached the history of England with a critical temper and raised doubts as to the trustworthiness of many features of Arthurian tradition, particularly as presented by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Leland came to the defence of Geoffrey in his *Codrus sive Laus et Defensio*

¹ But we must not overlook the impression that Leland makes upon some scholars in our time: 'The truth is, Leland was a superstition. He received the inordinate praise which is easily given to those of whom it is said that they might achieve wonders if they would. The weight of his learning which he carried was thought to be so great that he could not disburden it in books', &c. Charles Whibley, in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, iii. 374.

Gallofridi Monumetensis contra Polydorum Vergilium.¹ The investigation on which this piece was based served in part as a preliminary study for Leland's *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturij*, which bristles with far-fetched authorities. Despite the parade of learning in the *Assertio*, the modern student, although he may on other grounds believe in the reality of Arthur's historical existence, will doubtless not take too seriously the 'proofs' there presented, many of which are only a proof of the author's inability to weigh evidence. In our day the interest both of Leland and of his translator Robinson lies in the fact that they doubtless represent the attitude of average sixteenth-century English readers towards Arthurian legend. When perusing Arthurian romances they perhaps flattered themselves that they were in a sense reading history. This attitude was not universal, but in a relatively uncritical age like the sixteenth century it must have been far more prevalent than would now be possible.

As for Leland, there can be no doubt of his intense conviction. He is in no sense a cool, dispassionate judge, but a heated advocate, and he eagerly seizes upon any supposed fact that can be pressed into support of his thesis. Writers of more critical judgement than himself he treats with scant courtesy, if indeed he does not regard them as intentionally dishonest. His greatest antipathy he reserves for William of Newbury or Gulielmus Parvus, as he calls him, and for Polydore Vergil, both of whom, by the way, are highly esteemed by modern historical students. A good instance of his own critical method appears in his amusing scruples regarding the bones of the 'Giant' as being those of Gawain,² though he is ready to take 'the auctoritie of forraine and of our owne writers that such did inhabit Albion'. With this we may compare his reasoning about Arthur's seal (pp. 39-44). He finds (49/15 ff.) that Mordred's death in battle was a just reward of his treachery. What lesson Arthur's death in the same battle suggests he does not tell us. He rises to his highest rhetorical levels in describing the battle on the Kentish coast when Arthur returns from France (p. 45), and, singularly enough, he is able to present the *ipsissima verba* of Arthur's address to his soldiers (pp. 45, 46). For some reason, he imagines that

¹ Published, apparently for the first time, by Thomas Hearne in vol. v of his *Collectanea*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1715.

² pp. 29, 30 of Robinson's English version.

Arthur addressed Gawain thus: 'You the most prairie worthy garland of warlike prowesse', &c. (p. 46/15 ff.). Leland is indeed so carried away by his enthusiasm that his demonstration of Arthur's existence contains wellnigh as much romance as sober history.

From Leland we now turn to his translator Richard Robinson. The list of titles of the works produced by Robinson shows that the greater portion consists of translations and the remainder of compilations.¹ He is far less known than Leland, and rightly so.² He is in no proper sense an original writer or even a scholar when compared with Leland, though in the fashion of his time he is an inveterate pedant, as sufficiently appears in the Dedictory Epistle prefixed to his version of Leland's *Assertio*. This Epistle, with its exuberant and irrelevant piety (pp. 3-6), and its ridiculous babble about the bow, which he connects with the Bow of Promise set in the clouds after the Deluge, affords an excellent index of Robinson's mind—religious, fanciful, and incapable of coherent, logical thinking, to say nothing of historical research.³ He is obviously trying to win the favour and support of the Worshipful Society of Archers to whom he dedicates his translation of the *Assertio*. Upon their patronage and that of other men of wealth depends his very existence. He is a typical example of the honest, industrious hack writer of moderate skill, compelled to work like a slave for the income of a beggar.⁴

In translating Leland's *Assertio* he endeavours to present the substance of the original, but his version, like most Elizabethan translations,⁵ is obviously not meant to be a word for word equiva-

¹ See the sketch of Robinson in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Another Richard Robinson (fl. 1574) was a minor poet, the details of whose life are obscure. Sir Egerton Brydges confounded the poet with the compiler in his sketch of Leland and of Robinson. Cf. *The British Bibliographer*, i. 109-35.

³ His most interesting addition to Leland—derived from his learned friend Master Steven Batman—is that Arthur is descended from Joseph of Arimathea! See pp. 12, 13.

⁴ 'Richard Robinson, who produced many indifferent versions of dull Latin works for various publishers, appears to have received no money payments at all. The proceeds of a certain number of copies to be disposed of by himself to friends and patrons—eked out, if luck willed, by a dedication fee—formed his only remuneration.' Phoebe Sheavyn, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 101.

⁵ Cf. *Cambridge History of English Literature*, iv. 3.

lent for the Latin but a readable paraphrase. As a rule he appears to be unable even to transcribe correctly the Latin verse that he borrows from Leland, though possibly he flattered himself that his variations were improvements upon the originals.

Precisely what led Robinson to translate the *Assertio* we do not know,¹ but we may plausibly assume that the existence of the Society of Prince Arthur, to which he dedicates his work, was a sufficient incentive. This was a company of gentlemen who practised archery as a diversion and presumably were interested in a demonstration of the historical existence of the hero who gave his name to their order.

In the following year, 1583, doubtless encouraged by the reception accorded to his translation of the *Assertio*, he brought out a small pamphlet entitled *The Auncient Order, Societie, and Unitie of Prince Arthure*. This little book is in the main a treatise on archery, translated from the French.² After the dedication is a brief outline of heraldry followed by a display of escutcheons, fifty-eight in all. The name of an Arthurian knight appears above each escutcheon, and in most cases, not in all, initials, presumably of members of the Society—‘E. P.’, ‘T. C.’, ‘I. P.’, &c.—are placed at the right and left of the escutcheons. Below the several escutcheons are arranged pairs of stanzas of four lines each, the first stanza descriptive of the device, the second complimentary.

Following the escutcheons appears *A Breefe Repetition of the Table Rounde*, in two pages, indicating the character of the original Round Table and the duties pertaining to it.

Then comes an account of the development of archery from the earliest times, in the form of three Assertions. ‘The First Assertion and is Sacred Historicall’ is an abstract in lame verse (nine pages) of Jewish history from Adam to Christ, with particular reference to archery.

‘The Second Assertion and ys Prophane Hystorically’ is mainly

¹ We may note that Robinson had already translated in 1577, five years before his translation of the *Assertio*, *A Record of Ancyent Historyes entituled in Latin Gesta Romanorum, Translated, Perused, Corrected, and Bettered*. This work is doubtfully credited to John Leland. It ran through six editions, the latest appearing in 1601.

² On page A⁴ back we find: ‘Thus much concerning knowledge of Armes blazoned: Wherof (the French Author vncertaine by name) on this maner introduceth’, &c.

an epitome (seven pages and a half) of Greek mythology, with mention of famous ancient archers, Apollo, Paris, Hercules, and princes such as Commodus, Domitian, Cyrus.

'The Third Assertion, Englyshe Hystorical' (nearly ten pages) presents a summary of English history with especial reference to the part archery has played.

Obviously, in work like this there is small opportunity for originality, and there is no great striving for literary effect. To us the chief interest of Robinson's version of the *Assertion of Arthur* and his account of a society imitating in his own time the traditional Round Table of King Arthur is that they enable us in some degree to measure the popularity of Arthurian tradition in the sixteenth century.

Incidentally, we may add that the existence of such a company of gentleman archers in the last quarter of the sixteenth century is also a striking proof of the vitality of the tradition of the prowess of English bowmen on the field of battle; a tradition that kept alive even in Charles II's time a 'fraternity of bowmen, flourishing and rejoicing in the patronage of a queen'.¹

After this brief survey of Robinson's career we need spend little time upon his style, for nothing that he wrote is in any proper sense a contribution to literature. But in simple justice to him we must admit that he had learned to write reasonably clear and intelligible prose.² His sentences are not notably graceful, but they are not unduly long and they are far less involved than the unwieldy periods that continually recur in the work of Sir Philip Sidney or of Sir Walter Raleigh. But we must note that his prose is better when restrained by the comparative sobriety of the Latin he is translating than it is when he essays such an untrammelled flight as appears in his Dedicatory Epistle. Fully to realize the possibilities of his style, however, one must read some of his verse. Rhythm and melody count for nothing. His sole aim appears to be to crowd a certain number of syllables into a line, and if the

¹ *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, i. 9.

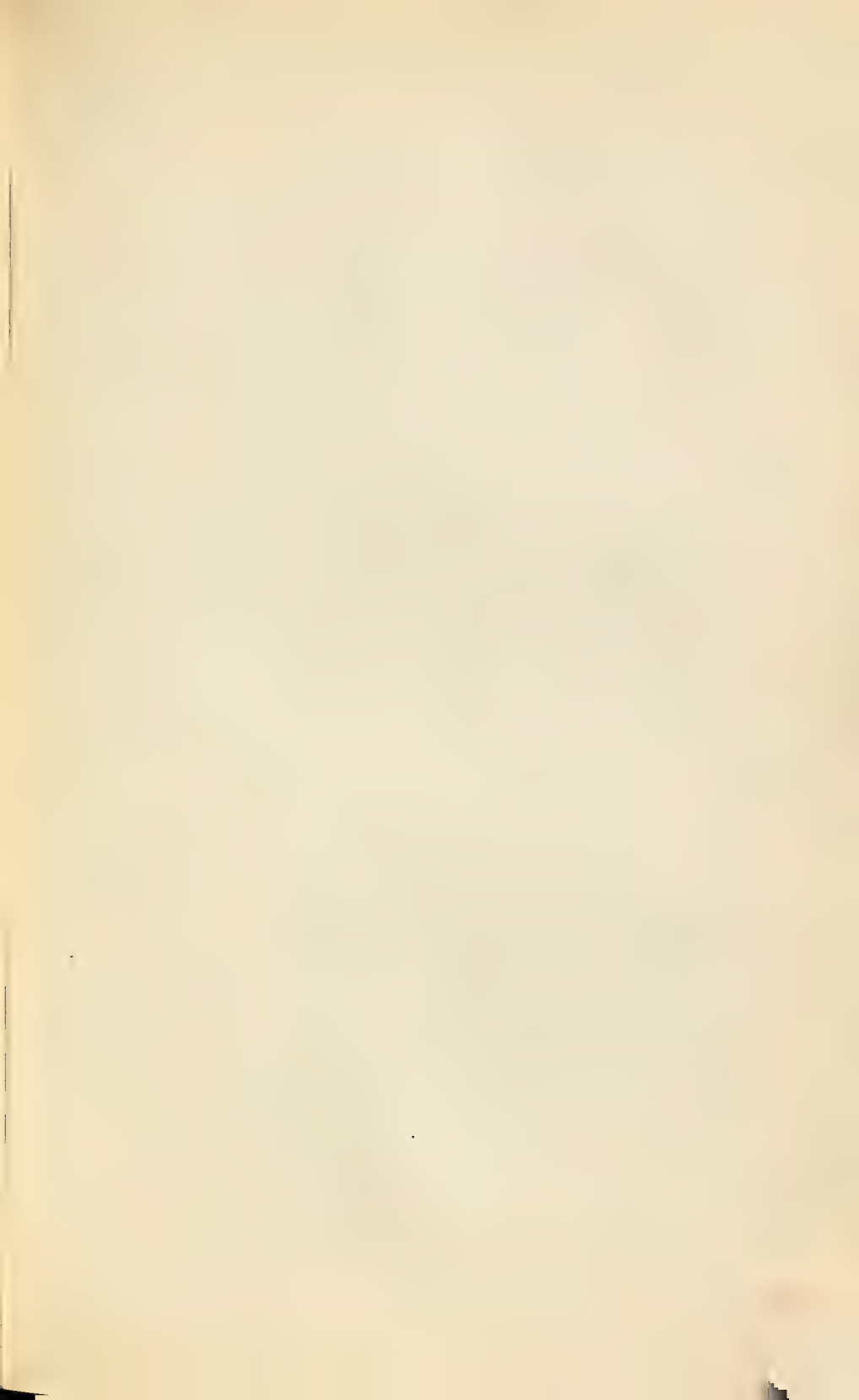
² Like his contemporaries he is fond of alliteration. Note this sentence from his Dedicatory Epistle: 'Chusing a cheefe & most perspicuouse, a valiant and most victoriouse, a couragiouse and most conquerouse, a religiouse and most redoubted Royall soueraigne King Henry the eight, as sole supreme Patron and protector thereof againt the cankered curriff kinde of caueling carpers.' 7/30 ff.

metre breaks in the process, so much the worse for the metre. To read his verse aloud gives about as much pleasure as chewing sand. But the reader may judge for himself and test the specimens found on pp. 10, 19, 30, 35, 51, 58, 81-2. His grammar presents the usual characteristics of late Elizabethan prose and calls for no special treatment. He is fond of the awkward genitive forms, such as 'Cerdicius his comming', 24/5; 'Mordred Arthure his nephewe', 25, marginal note, &c.¹ But he also uses freely the ordinary modern possessive form. Perhaps the most interesting grammatical usage found in Robinson's version is the employment of uninflected *it* as a genitive, which appears also in Shakespeare's *King John*, II. i:

'Go to it grandame, child.
Give grandame kingdom and it grandame will
Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig.'

Robinson's example is: 'Of it owne accorde it beares both Grapes & Corne', 55/25.

¹ Cf. the side-notes on p. 46, &c., &c.



Insignia Illustrium Patronorum, huius
opusculi selectorum.

D. ARTVRVS BARO

Gray, de Wilton.

D. HENRICVS SIDNEY, Illustrissimi Or-
dinis Garterij Miles, vnus Consiliario-
rum D. Reg. & in Principa-
tu Walliz Præsid.



Magister Thomas Smith D. Regine
Custumarius Principalis, in
Portu London.



Ecclef. 10. cap. Gloria Diuitum, Honoratorum, & Pauperum, est
Timor Dei.

A verso (British Museum copy)

A
Learned and True Affertion of
 the original, Life, Actes, and death of
the most Noble, Valiant, and Renoumed Prince
Arthure, King of great Brittain.

Who succeeding his father *Vther Pendragon*, and right
nobly gouerning this Land fixe and twentie yeares,
 then dyed of a mortall wounde receuyed in battell,
together with victory ouer his enemies. As
 appeareth Cap. 9. And was buried at
Glastenbury. Cap. 12. An. 543.

Collected and written of late yeares in lattin, by the
 learned English Antiquarie of worthy memory
Iohn Leyland.

Newly translated into English by *Richard Robinson*
 Citizen of London. *Anno Domini.*
 1 5 8 2.

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L O N D O N
Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, dwelling in
 Distaffe Lane, ouer against the Signe
 of the Castell. 1 5 8 2.

Insignia Illustrium Patronorum, huius
opusculi selectorum.

D. ARTVRVS BARO
Gray, de VVilton

D. HENRICVS SIDNEY, Illustrissimi Or-
dinis Garterij Miles, vnus Confiliario-
rum D. Reg. & in Principa-
tu Walliæ Præsid.

[*Gray coat of arms*]

[*Sidney coat of arms*]

AT VINCIT PAUPERIEM VIRTVS

QVO FATA VOCANT

*Magister Thomas Smith D. Reginae
Custumarius Principalis, in
Portu London.*

[*Smith coat of arms*]

FAMA FIDES OCCVLVS

Ecclef. 10.cap. *Gloria Diuitum, Honoratorum, & Pauperum, est
Timor Dei.*

[For the coats of arms, see collotype facsimile facing the title-page.]

To the Right Honorable Lord ARTHVRE

GRAY, Baron of Wilton, Lord Deputie

& Liefetenant Generall for the Queenes

Maiestie in Ireland:

To the Right Honorable Sir HENRY SIDNEY, Knight

of the Honorable Order of the Garter, & President for

her Maiestie in the Marches of Wales:

To the Right worshipfull M. THOMAS SMITH, Esquire, &

Chiefe Customer for her Maiestie in the Porte of London: & to the Wor-

shipfull Societie of Archers, in London yearely celebrating the renou-

med memorie of the Magnificent Prince ARTHVRE & his

Knightly Order of the Round Table:

Grace, mercy, & Peace in the Lord Euerlastinge.

HAVING in mindefull memorie (*Right Honourable, and*
Worshipfull) that mercifull couenaunt of peace, by our
omnipotent Creator towards all flesh thus manifested (*I do set* Gen. 9.
my Raine Bowe in the cloudes, & it shall be as a token betwene me
5 *& the earth*) promising hereby neuer to destroy the same any
more by waters: how much ought mankind specially, enioying
by this peaceable pact, from Heauen, Earth, & the Sea, aboun-
dance of benefittes; feare God in his holines, loue one an other in
righteousnesse, and vse these benefittes with thankfulnesse to the
10 aduancement of his glory. For this Bowe, this Rainebowe
I say of his couenant, and pledge of his peace, left vnto vs from
the deluge (as *Aristotle* affirmeth) *Naturally appeareth by* Arist. meteor
reflection or giuing backe of the light of the Sunne, from a cloude lib. 1. 3. Cap. 1.
opposite, or against the same. Trac. 2.
So our heauenly God, the Father
15 of light, and giuer of grace, departeth with the light of his mani-
fold mercies vnto mankind, from the opposite cloude of his

displeasure. Againe, this Bowe of his co- [A² back] uenant and pledge of his peace, (as it is faide by *Albertus*) *To be so much lesse in appearance, as by how much the Sunne is higher in the Heauens, and contrarie wise so much greater, as the Sunne is lower to the earth*: So much lesse be the mercies of God 5 minded of man, as his mightie power appeareth out of our sight, and againe so much greater seeme his mercies vnto vs, as his mightie power is nere vs in sight. Thirdly according to *Aristotle*, this Rainebow of his couenant & pledge of his peace, *As it appeareth in the Spring time, in Sommer, in Autume & 10 in Winter, euening & morning, but specially in Autumne*: So is the performance of his mercifull couenant, and peaceable pacte at all times apparant, but specially in *Autumne*, that is when mankinde laboureth most to leaue sinne, and bring-forth fruites of good life as I faide, fearing God in his holinesse, louing one 15 an other in righteousnesse, and vsing his benefites with thankfulnessse. Thus and to this end graunting his couenant, our omnipotent Creator and gratiouse God ordayning Man ruler ouer his Creatures in earth, yet vnder his protection in heauen, hath not onely bounde vnto him all humaine societie, but hath 20 also substituted euen his liuetenauntes godly rulers ouer the same to the forefaide effect for the aduancement of his glory, confirming the same couenant with the auctoritie of his holie worde

2. Reg. 7. on this manner. *I will ordaine a place for my people of Israell. I. And I will plant him, and I will dwell with him. II. And he 25 shall be no more troubled. III. And the children of iniquitie shall not vex or afflict him any more. IIII.* By his word here he promised that which by his deede he performed to our forefathers, Adam in Paradise, *Gen. 1.* Noah and his children, *Gen. 9.* Abraham & his feede, *Gen. 12.* But louing his elect, 30 and hating their enemies, he performed his promise vnto Iacob in his prouidence, and vnto Laban in his iudgments, *Gen. 30.* So did he in like manner vnto Ioseph, and his vnnaturall brethren, *Gen. 37.* Yea in his prouidence laying his right hand vpon Ephraim, and in his iudgement his left hand vpon 35 Manasses, *Gen. 48.* Whereby as he prospered and [A³] protected his holy ones in peace and warres against their enemies, we reade also in the deuine histories from time to time how and by what ordenarie meanes of power, force, and defence, he

reached vnto his feeble flocke his mightie arme to the discom-
 fort of the enemie & vtter subuersion both of their power &
 pollicie, according to his promises aforefaide. Heere then
 memorable and praiseworthy is the prouidence of this most
 5 mightie *God*, who promising helpe vnto the Iewes against the
 Gentiles, vsed no kinde of speach so much as this, *That he would* Deut. 32.
bend his Bow and dye his shaftes in bloud. As who say, God
 will make the Iewes shoote strong shootes to ouerthrow their
 enemies: or at the least, that shooting is a wonderful mightie
 10 thing, whereunto the high power of God is likened. This bow
 a weapon of defence, the Raine Boe a token of truce: This
 Bow in peace a pleasure, the Raine Bowe a signe of ferenitie:
 this Bow in warres a paine to the enemie, the Raine Bow at al
 times and to all people *Gods token betwene him and the earth.*
 15 The one an instr[u]ment of mercy, the other of destruction: the
 godly haue both as their comfort and sauegarde by Gods pro-
 tection, the vngodly either wanting the one or hauing both, haue
 them to their confusion and subuersion by his reiection. As we
 reade of King Saul, that he was slaine of the Philistians being Reg. 31.
 20 mightie bow men: and with him also his Sonne Ionathas who
 as the scripture faith neuer shot shaft in vaine. And that the
 kingdome of Israell after Sauls death came vnto King David:
 who after he was King, decreed by the first statute which
 he enacted, *That all the children of Israell should learne to shoote* 2. Reg. 1.
 25 *in the bowe*, according to a law made many a day before *vt patet*
in libro iustorum, a booke not now in vse to be founde. In his
 booke of Psalmes as hee saide *He was at peace with them that*
hated peace. So named hee the bow and arrowes in diuers
 manners & meanings, as in his Psal. 7. vers. 13. & 14. Psal. 11.
 30 vers. 2. Psal. 18. vers. 13. Psal. 21. vers. 12. Psal. 45. vers. 6.
 Psal. 49. vers. 9. 64. vers. 3. & 4. 76. vers. 3. 91. vers. 5.
 127. vers. 4. & 5. [A³ back] Finally in his 147. Psal. vers. 6.
 Praying to God for deliuerance from his enemies and for their
 destruction. *He saith, shoot thine arrowes and consume them:*
 35 So yet that *He neither trusted in bowe nor sworde, but in the*
power of God. Hee affirmeth it Psalme 44. vers. 6. And to
 conclude that he had rather liue in a godly peace then to warre
 against the wicked, he faith in the 119 Psal. vers. 15. *As at a*
marke he will ayme to walke in the wayes of the Lord. Of this

minde was not King Iofias, who though leading a godly life at home in Iuda, yet going vniustly to fight against Nichao King of
 4 Reg. 23. Egypt, was rather friendly dehorted by him from his purpose then otherwise, saying: *Leaue off to worke agaynst the Lord which is with mee least he do slay thee, which admonition Iofias not regard- 5 ing as spoken from God, tasted in deed of Gods iust iudgment: for being shot thorow with arrowes he was wounded to the death incontinently.* I could at large here call to minde the commendation of this peaceable practife of shooting which once I as a rawe scholler reade ouer in *Toxophilus*, and at times by tasked 10 lessons interpreted in latine here and there; but for breuitie, I refer your honours, and worshipes vnto the Histories there, of the Ethiopian king, and Cambyfes king of Persia. Of Sesostris and his archers. Of the Messagetanes which neuer went without their bowe and quier neyther in peace nor in warres. Of 15 Policrates and his one thowfand archers. Of the Scithians (whose whole substance and riches of a man being a yoke of Oxen and a plow, a Nagge and his dogge, his bowe and his quier) were inuincible against Darius and other Monarckes. To be short, the Grecians, Persians, Athenians, and the Ro- 20 manes, whose shooting in peace and warres was worthie of praise and fame. Neyther here ought I nor will I omit with silence the deserued fame of our Ancestors in fauouringe this exercise in this our little England long agoe liuing and of latter time, though breefly, referring your honours & worshippes vnto 25 the histories at large, as of Brute and his Troianes the first Brittaines, before and after the ariual of Iulius Caesar, Claudius, & Vespasian Emperoures [A⁴] and they Romanes: after them the Saxons vntill the time of Vortiger, the vsurping murtherer, who (Gods prouidence so working for them, and his 30 iudgement vpon him) by the two Brethern and valiant Brittaines Aurelius surnamed Ambrose, & Vther Pendragon, being burned in his Castell in Wales, was occasion of the Brittaines more happier estate afterwarde. But here yet by the way (*Right honourable and worshipfull*) as I applaude in this their well 35 doing, so it had beene a thing of Brittaines most worthelie to be wished, for that Prince himselfe lesse opprobrius, of all men more praise worthie, and most pretiouse in the sight of God: if the serpent Tyrus had wanted here his vennime vncurable, though his

flesh proued medicinable againſt all other poyſons (as faith Cardanus in his booke of Comfort.) I meane if Vther Pendragon had wanted that ſerpentine poyſon of adulterie, Nigromancie & murder (things odible to God and good men :) when that moſt incomperable King Arthure of great Brittainē for his princely
 5 prowefſe, valiant vertues, and triumphant victories yet prooued more Royally renoumed throughoute all the worlde in his time and to his poſteritie. The Hebr[e]wes with greate and not vnderſerued titles extolled their Iudas Maccabeus. Homer the glory of
 10 all Greeke Poets left Hector and Achilles moſt commendable vnto the worlde. Neyther by leſſe diligence did the Grecians adorne with praiſe Alexander the moſt mightie conquerour. And the Romanes aduanced the noble actes of their Cæſar to the Skyes not enough. The Burgonians profoundly praiſed Godfrey of
 15 Bulloyn (for his noble valiancy) as the ſcourge of the Sarazens in his dayes. And as euery one of thoſe are commended with due deſert: ſo in like manner there were neuer Brittaines wanting of excellent learning and exquisite knowledge to leaue with carefull diligence and credible commendation, the progenie, life,
 20 prowefſe proſperitie, and triumphant victories of our ſaid auncient Arthure worthely publiſhed vnto the worlde. And as Alexander [Mag-¹] [A⁴ back] would haue none to purtract him but Apelles, nor any but Lyſippus to engraue him in braſſe, nor any but Pyrgotiles to worke him in pretiouſe ſtone: So
 25 where in not three, but many Artizans as learned Gildas, William of Malmsbury, Nennius, Diuionenſes, Graius, Iofephus, Geoffrey of Munmuth, Silueſter Giraldus, &c. performed their worthie workmanſhippes in our Arthure Maur (to uſe the Brittainē phraſe:) euen one Engliſh Leyland for his learned labour
 30 laudable, hath perfectly poliſhed him in all poyntes. Chuſing a cheefe & moſt perſpicuouſe, a valiant & moſt victoriouſe, a couragiouſe and moſt conquerouſe, a religiouſe and moſt redoubted Royall foueraigne King Henry the eight, as ſole ſupreme Patron and protector thereof againſt the cankered
 35 curriſh kinde of caueling carpers. By cauſe his elder brother being named Arthure, he him ſelfe a moſt chriſtian King for all heroicall vertues commendable, the rather ſeemed to fauour

¹ Printed as the catchword, but not repeated on A⁴ back to begin the new page.

and further the aduancement of the fame of his most renowned
 auncestor this same our ancient Arthure and the knightly traine
 of his rounde table. Hereupon by patent of his princely
 prerogatiue ordayned, graunted, and confirmed hee vnto this
 honorable Citie of London, free election of a Chieftaine and of 5
 Citizens representing the memory of that magnificent King
 Arthure, and the Knightes of the same order, which should
 for the mayntenance of shooting onely, meete together once
 a yeare, with solemne and friendly celebration therof. So
 much in his noble minde preuayled all prouident care of 10
 princely prowesse, valiancie, cheualrie, and actiuitie, that he not
 onely herein imitated the examplers of godly K. Dauid for his
 Israelites as before, and of that noble Emperour Leo in ouer-
 throwing idolatrie, and exalting archerie maugre the mallice
 of that Romane Antichrist, and all his members: but also 15
 inuincibly maintayned the praifeworthie practize of this shooting
 in peace & wars by the examples of his princely progenitors.
 As after the [B] conquest, of K. Henry II. alias Beauclerck so
 firnamed, the first furtherer of K. Arthures beneficencie, valiant
 Edward firnamed long & first vizitor of the saide Kinges tombe, 20
 valiant and victorius Edward III. & *IIII.* bountious and liberall
 Richard *II.* good and gratiouse Henry the V. wife, politique,
 iust, temperate, and graue King Henry the *VII.* his father.
 Neither hath this ceased in the branch, that flourished in the
 bole: but by the milde, religiouse, and gratiouse King Edward 25
 the *VI.* and now last of all by the Phenix of feminine sex,
 our most redoubted Hester and gratiouse soueraigne Ladie
 Queene Elizabeth laudably lasteth in force and effect: whose
 highnesse so many yeares humbling, not exalting her selfe the
 more by reason of her power, wholly setteth her subiectes in 30
 peace, preferring the same. Now therefore (*Right honourable
 and worshipfull*) as duetie bindeth euery degree to further the
 welfare of this blessed peace, and the profit of this excellent
 practife: proceede I humbly beseech you with noble Nehemias and
 those godly superuisors with dutifull diligence, with the one hand 35
 holding your boes, and with the other hand as good laborers for
 your Prince & publique wealth, to beare the burdens of your
 vocation, towards the buylding of this earthly Ierusalem, euen
 from the morning spring till the Starres come forth. Con-

2 Reg. I.
 Anno 730.

Hest. Cap. 13.

2 Efd. 4.

tinually I say accustom your selues to seeke this peace of the
 gofpell and to enfue the fame, ryde on I say with renoume vpon
 that *White Horfe whose fitter hauing a boe and a crowne giuen him* Reuel. 6.
hath promiffe from the mightie power of God, that he shall go
 5 *forth conquering and shall ouercome.* That Chrift our King
 of the vniuerfall Church with his crowne and fepter, and with the
 shaftes of his mouth or worde and gofpell of peace may pearce
 throughout the worlde to the aduancement of his glory which
 fhall fit on the raineboe in his maieftie to iudge all Nations, (as
 10 the feare of his holynesse, mutuall loue in righteoufnesse, and
 thankfulnesse for his benefites may moue all men) I haue
 traueled in the translation of this booke out of Latin into
 Englifh, with all humble & [B back] true harted reuerence,
 befecching God to affist you right honourable Lord *Deputie* with
 15 his omnipotent power, that as an inuincible Iofua you may con-
 tinually *bring in the people to the due knowledge of God, and* Deut. 31.
obedience of our Prince: & as a notable Nehemias in true feare
 of God without feare of foe buylde vp this earthly Ierufalem to
 the perfection of that perpetuall peace, promifed in the heauenly
 20 Ierufalem. Finally that you right honourable Lord Prefident,
 and you right worshipfull Master Thomas Smith with your
 worshipfull associates, *Dayly praying for the peace of this* Pfal. 121.
Ierufalem, as the amitie thereof is sweete by the vnitie of your
 mindes: So that, *Hoc fit longiffime vt periucundum fic cohabitare* Pfal. 132.
 25 *fratres in vnum,* I according to my humble duty hartely do pray
 vnto God, crauing pardon of your honours and worships
 generally for this my bold dedication. And befecching you fauour-
 ably to accept the fame in furdurance of my poore study of
 dutifull well wifhing towards my Prince & countrie: I humbly
 30 and hartely befecch the eternall & omnipotent God to multiply
 his manifold mercies vpon your honours & worships, that being
 all of one dutifull minde in God towards the maieftie of our
 moft sacred foueraigne lady (vnder her long liuing in peaceable
 prosperitie) we may after this life attaine vnto that peaceable and
 35 perpetuall kingdome of Heauen to raigne as coheires with
 Chrift our Lord in the glory of his Father. AMEN.

Your Honourable Lordships, and worthie Worships
 moft humble and faithfull poore Orator

RICHARD ROBINSON,
 Citizen of London.

[B²]

I. L. *Ad Candidos Lectores.*

*Delituit certé multis Arturius annis,
Vera Britannorum, Gloria, Lumen, Honos:
Dispulit obscuras alacer Lelandius umbras,
Sydereum mundo restituitque iubar. 5
Plaudite Lectores studiosa caterua diserti,
Prestitit officium candidus ille suum:
Hinc procul at fugiant Codrino felle tumentes,
Ne proprio crepitent ilia rupta malo.*

I. L. *To the Sincere Readers.*

Many yeeres furely *Arthure* hidden lay,
Of Brittons, the Glory, Light & Honor true:
Cheerely hath *Leyland* driuen darke shadowes away,
And yeelds the world bright shining *Sun* to view.
Of Learned Readers, reioyce yee studious Crew, 15
He sincere did his Duetie bounden fulfill:
Farre hence flee those their spyte which spew,
Least their Intestines burst with their owne ill.

[B² back]

The Table of the names of those *Authors*,
whose testimonies this present
Booke useth.

Foraine writers.

5	Lucanus.	} Poets.
	Iuuenall.	
	Martiall.	
	Cornelius Tacitus.	} Histo rio gra phers
	Paulus Diaconus.	
10	Claudius Gallus.	
	Iohannes Anneuillanus.	
	Valerius.	
	Boccace.	
	Diuionensis.	
15	Ponticus Virunnius.	

Brittaine writers.

	Theliefinus.
20	Ambrosius Maridunensis.
	Merlinus Caledonius.
	Melchinus.
	Patricius Glessoburgensis.
	Gildas Bannochorensis.
25	Anonymus.
	Nennius.
	Samuell.
	Beda Girouicanus.

Brittaine writers.

Afferius Meneuensis.
Gulielmus Meildunensis.
Galfridus Monemuthensis.
Aluredus Fibroleganus.
Henricus Venantodunensis.
Iosephus Iscanus.
Siluester Giraldu.
Matheus Parisius.
Iohannes Chyffistoriographus.
Gulielmus Paruus.
Iohannes Fiberius.
Thomas Vicanus.
Ranulphus Higedenus.
Mattheus Florilegus.
Iohannes Burgensis.
Thomas Melorius.
Scalechronica.
Chronica Durenfia.
Chronica Glessoburgensia.
Chronica Perforana.

2. Cor. 13.

*Nihil contra veritatem agere
possumus, sed pro Veritate.*

Prou. 12. Labium Veritatis firmum in perpetuum.

30 *Prou. 21. Testis autem mendax peribit.*

Efdra 3. 9. Super omnia autem vincit Veritas.

[B³] *Certaine memorable Notes inyeried into this
Assertion since the Translation thereof.*

By Ric. Ro.

AS *Pliny* saith, *Ingenui pudoris est fateri per quos profeceris*:
So I must freely confesse the friendly helps of those which s
profited me in this purpose.

First by conference with Master *Steuens Batman*, a learned
Preacher and friendlie fauourer of vertue and learning, (touching
the praise worthie progenie of this *K. Arthure*) he gaue me this
assured knowledge on this manner taken out of his Auncient 10
records written at *Aualonia*.

Verfes found in certaine Cronicles, wherein were discourfes
had of *Aruiragus* king of *Brittaine* 45. yeeres after the natiuite
of *Christe*.

Twelue men in number entered the Vale of Aualon: 15
Ioseph of Aramathia was the chiefeſt flowre of them.
Ioseph the sonne of Ioseph, his father did attend,
With other tenne: and Glaſton did poſſeſſe.

There also, this writing did witneſſe, that *K. Arthure* of greate
Brittaine deſcended of the ſtocke of y^e ſaide *Ioseph* viz. *Helarius* 20
the Nephewe of *Ioseph* begate *Iofue*, *Iofue* begate *Aminadab*,
Aminadab begate *Caſtellors*, *Caſtellors* begate *Manaell*, *Manaell*
begate *Lambord* and *Vrlard*, and *Lambord* begatte a ſonne that
begate *Igern*a of which woman, king *Vther Pendragon* begate
the noble and renoumed *King Arthure*. Whereby it plainly 25
appeareth, that *K. Arthure* deſcended of the ſtocke of *Ioseph*.

Againe, like wife of the ſame kindred (whereof *K. Arthure*
came) proceeded theſe auncient *Brittaines* alſo.

Peter the Cofen of *Ioseph* of *Aramathia*, king of *Arcadia*,
begate *Erlan*, *Erlan* begate *Melianus*, *Melianus* begate *Arguthe*, 30
Arguthe begate *Edor*, *Edor* begate *Lotho* which married to wife
ſiſter of *K. Arthure*, of whom *Lotho* begate 4 ſonnes, to wit,

Walwanus Agranaius, Guerelies, and Garelies: all which were noble men of authoritie in Brittain where they dwelt.

[B³ back] Moreouer he shewed me out of his aunient records the interchaunges of king *Arthures* armes which hee
5 gaue in three chiefs, from the first to the third: viz.

His first armes he bare in a shield *Gules*, (red) three *Serpentes*,
Or, gold.

His second hee bare in a shield *Vert*, (greene) a plaine *Cross*-
argent: in chiefe the figure of the *Virgin Marie* with *Christe* in
10 her armes.

His third and last in a shield *Azure*, (blew) three c[r]ownes,
Or, (gold.)

But after knowledge of these feuerall armes, I had intelligence of a certaine French booke, wherein he is reported to [h]aue
15 giuen in a shielde *Azure* (blew) 13. Crownes, *Or*, gold.

This booke beeing in an English mans handes, I was not so desirous to see it, but he as willingly shewed it & lent it me. There was in it portracted both the feuerall names, shielde, and feuerall armes in colours also depainted of all *K. Arthures*
20 knights and vnder euery one the commendation due vnto him by his cheualrie. Which becaufe the engrauiing of their armes was very chargeable, & the circumstance of matter more then I could in so shorte time publish in the English tongue: I was enforced to content me with this brieft collection concerning *K. Arthure*,
25 and with the names of 16. kinges, one Duke, and 149. knightes, so many as were therein printed, viz.

Of King Arthure himselfe it faith

Directly vnder his shield

thus.

30 *King Arthure* did beare in his shield *Azure* (blew) 13. Crownes of golde. He was a greate conquerour, and of noble and valiant prowesse, hee instituted the order of the rounde Table in the kingdome of greate *Brittaine*: Unto the which he appointed all his chofen knightes at Whitfontide yeerely to come, and
35 holde their Homage of him by the same order.

[B⁴]

Now followeth the names of those knightes

*And first how many kinges.**Kinges.*

- 1 Le Roy Meliadus.
- 2 Le Roy Ban de Benock.
- 3 Le Roy Boort de Gauues.
- 4 Le Roy Karados.
- 5 Le Roy Lac.
- 6 Le Roy de Clares.
- 7 Le Roy Vrien.
- 8 Le Roy Lottho de Orchany.
- 9 Le Roy Ryon.
- 10 Le Roy Pelinor.
- 11 Le Roy Baudemagus de Gorre.
- 12 Le Roy Pharamondo.
- 13 Le Roy Galganoys de Nor-galles.
- 14 Le Roy Aguisant d'Escoffe.
- 15 Le Roy Malaquin d'outre les marches de Gallounne.
- 16 Le Roy Claudas.

I

- 1 Le Duke of Clarence.

Knightes.

- 1 Messier Lancelot du Lac.
- 2 Boort de ga[nn]es.
- 3 Gawain d'Orchany.
- 4 Messier Trifran de Lyonnoys.
- 5 Lyonet de Ga[nn]es.
- 6 Helias le Blanc.
- 7 Hector des Mares.
- 8 Bliomberis de Gauues.
- 9 Gaherriet.
- 10 Keux le Seneschall.
- 11 Messier Yuaine.
- 12 Bruor le Noir.
- 13 Baudoyer le Conestable.
- 14 Agruall de Galles.
- 15 Segurades.
- 16 Patris le Hardy.
- 17 Esclabor le Messoniez.
- 18 Saphar le mescognieu.
- 19 Sagremor le defree.
- 20 Gyron le Curtoys.
- 21 Seguram le Brun.
- 22 Galehault le Blanc.
- 23 Le Morholt de Ireland.
- 24 Danayn le Roux.
- 25 Amilan de Seffougné.

- 26 Brallain.
- 27 Brallain que lon disoit le Cheualier a[ux] d[eu]x espees.
- 28 Gallehaulte.
- 29 Lamorat de Lyfthenoys.
- 30 Brunor de Ga[nn]es.
- 31 Le bon Cheualier de Nor-galles.
- 32 Henry de Ryuell.
- 33 Messier Gullat.
- 34 Gueherres.
- 35 Aggrauaine le Orgueilleux.
- 36 Mordree de Orchany.
- 37 Gyrfflet.
- 38 Dodynel le Sauaige.
- 39 Yuain le Auoutre.
- 40 Ozement Coeurhardy.
- 41 Gualgantine le Galloys.
- 42 Gaherriet de Lemball.
- 43 Mador de la porte.
- 44 Bamers le forcene.
- 45 Dynadam de Estrangor.
- 46 Herret le filz de lac.
- 47 Artus le petit.
- 48 Cinglant Rochmont.
- 49 Artus lesbloy.
- 50 Guallogrenant de Windezores.
- 51 Kandelis.
- 52 Merangis des portz.
- 52 Gauuaine le franc.
- 53 Gnades le fort.
- 54 Pharas le Noir.
- 55 Pharas le Roux.
- 56 Iambegues le Garruloys.
- 57 Taulas de la mountaine.
- 58 Abandam le fortune.
- 59 Damatha de folimezt.
- 60 Amand le bel Iousteur.
- 61 Ganefmor le Noir.
- 62 Arphin le Dire.
- 63 Arconstant le adures.
- 64 Le Beau courant.
- 65 Le laid hardy.
- 66 Andelis le Roux ferré.
- 67 Bruyant des Isles.
- 68 Ozenall de Estrangeé.
- 69 Le Cheualier de Esther.
- 70 Le Varlet de Gluy.
- 71 Heroys le ioyeux.
- 72 Fergus du blanc lieu.

- 73 Lot le Coureur.
 74 Meliadus del Espinoy.
 75 Meliadus a[u] noir [œ]il.
 76 Ayglius des vaux.
 77 Iamburg du Chastell.
 78 Messire Clamorat.
 79 Surados des sept fontanes.
 80 Le Varlet au Circle.
 81 Kaedins de Lonizein.
 82 Lucane le Boutellier.
 83 Brumer de la fontaine.
 84 Lenfant du plessies.
 85 Perfides legent.
 86 Sibillas aux dures mai[n]s.
 87 Sinados le Efile.
 88 Arphazat le groz cœur
 89 Le blonde Amoureux.
 90 Argahac le Beau.
 91 Normaine le Pelerin.
 92 Harmaine le felon.
 93 Toscan le Romane.
 94 Landone le Leger.
 95 Le fort troue.
 96 Le Noir Perdu.
 97 Le fortune de lisle.
 98 Le fee des Dames.
 99 Le Forester de Dennewich.
 100 Le Chasseur de o[u]tres les
 marches.
 101 Ieyr & Landois de Rufe.
 102 Geoffroy le Lancours.
 103 Randowin le persien.
 104 Froyadus le Gay.
 105 Rouffelin de la autre monde.
 106 Gurrant le Roche dure.
 107 Arm. on. ouuerd serpent.
 108 Ferrand du tertre.
 109 Thor le filz de Arez.
 110 Lupin des croix.
 111 Ydeux le fort Tyrant.
 112 Bolinian du Boys.

- 113 Le bon Cheualier sans paour.
 114 Brouadas le Espaignoill.
 115 Brechus sans Pitye.
 116 Malignain.
 117 Le Cheualeur de Scallot.

[B⁴ back]

- 118 Melias de l'Espine.
 119 Agroer le fel Patrides au Circle
 d'Or.
 120 Mandius le noir.
 121 Percenall de Gallis.
 122 Auxe deftraux.
 123 Lamant du Boys.
 124 Melianderis de Sanfen.
 125 Mandrin le Sage.
 126 Kalahart le petite.
 127 Sadoc de Vencon.
 128 Perandon le pauvre.
 129 Verrant de la Roche.
 130 Le Brun sans ioy.
 131 Bufterin le grand.
 132 Le Cheualier des sept voyes.
 133 Gryngaloys le fort.
 134 Malaquin le Galoys.
 135 Agricole Beau grand.
 136 Gualindres du Tettre.
 137 Margondes le Rongo.
 138 Kacerdius de la Vallee.
 139 Nabon le fel.
 140 Talamor le Voland.
 141 Alibel de Logres.
 142 Dalides de la Rynier.
 143 Arain du pinex.
 144 Arganor le riche.
 145 Melias le Beau Cheualier.
 146 Meliadus le Blanc.
 147 Malaquin le gros.
 148 Messier Palamides.
 149 Alexander le Orphelin.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Summa} \\ \text{totalis} \\ 166 \\ \text{Knights.} \end{array} \right\} \text{ whereof } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Kinges 16.} \\ \text{Duke 1.} \\ \text{Knights} \\ 149.^1 \end{array} \right\}$$

Kinges

3. Text, *Gauues*.

Knights

2. Text, *gauues*, 5, 30, *Gauues*.

27. Text, *an duex*.

75. Text, *an noir ail*.

81. *Lonizein* for *Lonizern*?

86. Text, *maius*.

100. Text, *ontres*.

136. Text, *du Tettre* for *du Tertre*?

¹ A miscount for 150.

Besides notice of these I vsed in my translation
 from time to time, the helpe (of Master *John Stow*, &
Maestr Camden diligent searchers in antiquities)
 for the interpretation of those hard brittish and
 Welch Townes or names of places, which neither
Master Leyland the Collector of this Assertion had
 expounded perfectlie, neither I my [f]else¹ the
 translator could otherwise of my
 selfe haue perfourmed. For the
 which I am to gratifie them
 as the others also before
 recyted.

5

10

¹ Text, *felfe*.

The Assertion of *K. Arthure*.

EVident it is, by the speciall agreement of Greeke and Latine writers, that *Hercules* was borne of *Alcmena*, by the adultery of *Iupiter*. But by what manner of person, or how mightie in times past hee was, I suppose is euen of the
5 meanely learned better knowne, then that at this present needeth any further Insinuation. And very many others there were borne in adultery, (as by the Auncient History largely appeareth) whose prowesse at home, and in warres, notably excelled. Amongest whome also our *Arthure*, the chiefeſt ornament of
10 *Brittayne*, and the onely myracle of his time, florished famously. May I therefore bee so bolde by good leaue of *Gulielmus Paruus*, yea and so of his most mightie successour in place, *Polidorus*, euen with condigne praises to commend my countryman *Arthure*: and with the same dilligence to leane vnto the
15 Brittish history interpreted by *Geoffrey of Munmouth* a man not altogether vnlearned, (what soeuer otherwise persons ignorant of antiquitie, which thinke themselues to haue knowledge, shall say) as vnto a firme defence, rather then vnto the fond fables or base stufſe of forraine writers. Truly, in fables which haue
20 crept into the history of *Arthure*, I doe not more delite, then *Polidorus*, the Judge. But to bee afraide of any man by reason of his greate age, or eloquence, or authoritie, finally as like a foolish forsaker of the truth, I shoulde so leaue her partes vndefended: that certainly will I neuer doe: An other way, do
25 equity, honesty, the rule of fame, and heerehence a iust loue to my country, yea truth it selfe (then which one thing, nothing more deare I loue) fully moue me: But yet neither thinke I to wage battaile with y^e Learned: In meane time, yet by good reason it shall be free for me, to make most famous the state of
30 my countrie, and specially the partes of truth, euen with singuler

William
Paruus &
Polidorus
Virgilius, two
aduersaries of
K. Arthures
fame.

The Authours
good purpose
in this worke.

dilligence, expedyte industry, cheerefull labour, prompt counsell, quicke iudgment, yea, and finally by all meanes. Therefore, trusting in the good will, humanitie, and courteous fauour of the honest readers, I will now attempt somewhat more, circum-spectly to finde out *Prince Arthures* Originall, euen from the 5 very egge.

Est locus Abrini sinuoso littore ponti,
Rupe situs media, refluus quem circuit æstus,
Fulminat hic laté, turrato vertice Castrum,
Nomine Tindagium, veteres dixere Corini.

10

*A place there is ith' winding shoare of th' Abyrne Sea by
name,
Scituale in middest of a rocke, wheare ebbing tyde the fame,
Enuironeth. A Castle here with towery top shines bright,
(By auncient Cornish men so called) which Tintagill tho hight.* 15

A Constant fame is there giuen out by the voyce of manie, and also confirmed with the wrytinges of Learned men, that *Gorloys* the Gouvernour of *Cornewale* had heere his habytation for him, and his. He had to wife *Igera*, a woman no doubt of most louely Feature, but of an Improbate or vitious Chastitie. 20 Hether somewhat oftener for recreation of his minde, repayed *Vther*, kinge of the *Brittaines*, and furnamed *Pendragon*: So called for his Serpentine or subtile wisedome, (as I suppose) whose friendlie wellwiller *Gorloys* also was.

Vther Pen-
dragon king
Art. father.

Archilrenius in his fifth booke (if I count aright) writes these 25 verses.

Hoc trifido mundum, Corinei postera sole,
Irradiat Pubes, quartique puerpera Phœbi,
Pullulat Arturum, facie dum falso adulter
Tintagoll irrumpit, nec amoris Pendragon æstum, 30
Vincit, & omnificas Merlini consulit artes.
Mentiturque Ducis habitus & Rege latenti,
Induit absentis presenti Gorloys ora.

*The after coming youth, lightens the world of Coriney
With his three clouen sonne; & she that brought forth at that* 35
day

The fourth Phoebus, broght forth Arthur, whilst the adulterer he
 [2] *Euen Tintagol so false of face brake in most wickedly.*
Neither Pendragon vanquished the flaming fire of Loue,
But Merlins artes so manifold by counsel seekes to proue:
 5 *And counterfeites the Dukes attyre (as while the King did glose*
Thus) He put on the present face of absent Duke Gorlois.

CUSTOME, acquaintance, and companying together doe sette
 loue one fire. And becaufe as a certaine Poet sayth (Lis est Ouid Epist. 9.
 cum forma magna Pudicitiae: that is, *Twixt Comelineffe and*
 10 *Chastitie, greate Debate there seemes to bee.*) Lust gotte the
 mastery ouer *Igernaes* Chastitie: Wherevppon also afterwarde *Vther* Pen-
Arthure was begotten of her, together with a beautifull virgin, dragon begat
 named *Anna*. It must not heere be omitted whereof *Hector* Arthur of
Boetius makes relation: namelie that *Vther* at length slue *Igernae* the
 15 *Gorloys*, as hee was fighting in the behalfe of *Nothaleos* Gouver- wife of
 nour, agaynst the *Saxonnes*, and forsaken of him, that euen the *Gorloys*,
 rather hee might more freely obtayne his will of *Igernae*. But *Gouvernour* of
 the name of *Arthures* is knowne to bee noble with the Romaines, *Cornwale*,
 yea and also familer amongst them: that from hence *Iuuenall* and also a
 20 the *Poet* in his third *Satyre* writeth these. *Virgin* named
Anna.

Cedamus Patria, Viuant *Arthurius* istic, & *Catulus*.

From our Countrie depart let vs: There Arthure liue &
Catulus.

Samuell the Brittifh writer describeth the starre *Arcturus* Original of
 25 so called *Per Cappa ad vrsam*, alluding, that hee taketh his name Arth. name.
 or signification thereof from the Greeke Originall. But here
 it ought not to redounde vnto *Arthures* preiudice or reproch,
 that the father being an adulterer did leaue after him a sonne
 borne to valiant courage, prosperitie, & triumphant victories:
 30 seeing he was not in fault, that he the lesse proceeded from law-
 full matrimony, seeing that he afterwarde proued both a valiant
 and honest person.

Nam genus & Proauos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
 Vix ea nostra puto.

Ouid 13. lib.
 Metam. Fab. 1.

*For kindred & forefathers, eke which we
Have not begun, I scarce thinke ours to be.*

John Stowe. How greatly also the childe prospered in vertue, it then appeared, what time his father (who had florished in strength, Counsell and Iudgemente also not without Glorie) de-[2 back] 5 parted out of this life at *Verolanium*, having ordayned beefore, the dignitie Royall vnto his bafe gotten sonne, because he had none borne in lawfull matrimony.

Then an ancient Cittie, which was neere saint Albones, the foundations where of are yet apparant.

Chap. ii.

K. Arthures Coronation.

John Stow. The history of *Brittaine* affirmeth that *Arthure* began his 10 Raigne ouer the Islandes of this kingdome in the xv. yeare of his age, and was crowned of *Dubritius* Bishop of the City of *Caerlegion* vpon *Vske* in *Wales*. Iohannes y^e writer of the golden history seemeth to accounte vpon xviii. yeeres when *Arthure* ascended vp to the Roayll seate. *Scalæcronica*, of 15 which booke (as I am moued by coniecture) one *Gray*, was Author, doe say, that *Arthure* receaued the dignitie of his crowne at *Venta alias Caerguent* now called *Winchester*. The two rulers of the *Pictes* and *Scots* viz. *Lotho*, vnto whome *Anne* the sister of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, king of *Brittaines* was married, 20 and *Conranus*, vnto whome *Ada* the sister of *Anne* was espoused, began to enuy at the same so ioyfull prosperitie of *Arthure*: for both of them, but especially *Lotho* aspyred vnto the Dominion of *Brittaine*. Heereuppon followed afterwarde, that hee ioyning vnto him *Osca*, otherwise *Occa*, a most filhye person, made 25 warre against *Arthure*. At length the matter came to hande stroakes, and the *Pict* beeing ouercome, had the worfe successe, partly by the helpe or furtherance of the most inuincible *Hoel*, who plaied the Captaines parte there.

Two Rulers of the Pictes aspire vnto Arthures kingdome.

Battle and victory ouer Arthur his enemies by The little booke of the Empyre of the *Brittaines* and *English* 30 *men* vpon the *Scottes* their friendly wellwillers, affirmeth this victory to bee obtayned at *Yorke* by the saide *Hoel*. And that

- (the *Scottes* beeing vanquished) *Arthure* left the auntyent Dominions (by petitions beeing so moued) vnder the rule of his friende *Augufellus*, whom hee made *Gouernour* ouer them. Neither did better fortune happen vnto the *Saxonnes*: when as
 5 *Colgrino* the Duke was flaine, and *Baldricus* with *Childricke* fledde away. After victorie enfewed Concord. *Lotho* [3] yeelded him felfe vnto the *Brittaynes*, *Mordred* and *Galloambieuinus* the Sonnes of *Lotho* by *Anne*, befought *Arthure* of fauour & pardon by wonderfull-meanes, and at length were made friendes.
 10 In the meane feafon had *Arthure* married *Guenhera* daughter vnto *Cadorus* the Duke of Cornwale, a woman of rare beawtie. Afterwards also he fubdued vnto him the *Saxones* with most bloody battels.

Hoel his
friend.

Arthure
married
Guenhera
the daughter
of Cadorus
Duke of
Cornwaile.

Chap. iii.

The XII. Battelles fought by *Arthure*.

- 15 *Nennius* the *Brittaine* a writer of good and auncient credit, amongst many others maketh most lightfome mention of his battels: whose wordes although by the negligence of Printers and iniurie of time, they be fomewhat displaced, yet notwithstandinge becaufe they make much for our present matter, and
 20 bring with them a certaine reuerent antiquitie, I will here fet them downe, and in their order. *Arthure* fought in deed againft thofe *Saxones*, with the gouernours of the *Britaines*, but he himfelfe was generall. The firft battell was at the entraunce of
 the floude called *Glyn*, alias *Gledy*. The fecond, third, fourth,
 25 and fift, was vpon an other floud called *Dugles*, which is in the Countrie of *Lynieux*. The fixt was vpon the floud which is called *Baffas*. The feauenth was in the wood *Caledon*, that is, *Catcoit Celidon*. The eight in the Caſtle of *Gwynnyon*. The
 nynth was fought in the Cittie of *Caerlegion* vpon *Vske*. The
 30 tenth on the Sea ſhore, which is called *Traitheurith*, otherwiſe *Rhydrwyd*. The eleauenth in the hill Which is called *Agned Cathregonion*. The twelfth in the mount *Badonis*, wherein many were flaine by one affault of *Arthure*. Thus farre witneſſeth *Nennius*.
 35 *Iohannes* the wryter of the golden hiſtorie ratifyeth the ſelfe

1,
2, 3, 4,

5,
6,

7,
8,
9,

John Stow
10,
11,
12.

Some iudge
this to be
Bathe.

John the
writer of the

golden
history.

fame truth touching the twelue battels fought against those Saxones.

Aluredus Fibroleganus, the historeographer also declareth the like.

Henry of
Huntington.

And so these are the wordes of *Henry* surnamed of *Hun-* 5
[3 back]*tington* in the second booke of his history. *Arthure*

King Arthure
Xij times
General, and
Xij times
Conquerour.

the warrier, in those dayes the Captaine generall of soldiours, and of the rulers in *Brittaine*, fought most valiantly against the *Saxons*. Twelue times was he generall of the battell, and twelue times got he the victory. And there also. But the 10
battels and places wherein they were fought a certaine historio-
grapher declareth.

John Rhefus
a louer of
Antiquitie.

Henry of *Huntington* seemeth here to haue hitte vpon the breefe history of *Nennius*, the name of whose exemplar (as it seemeth) was not set downe. Herehence came that silence. 15
Neyther was that booke common in mens handes at that time, and in this our age is surely most rare: onely three exemplars do I remember that I haue seene, *John Rhefus* a louer of Antiquitie, & the same a diligent setter forth thereof, hath a little booke entituled *Gilde*, which booke (so farre as I gather by 20
his speach) had not to Authour *Gildas*, but *Nennius*.

John Stow,

The *Elenchus* or Registred Table of the librarie at Batle Abbey, accounteth the historie of *Gildas* among there treasures, I haue diligently enquired for the booke: but as yet haue I not found it. The Reporte is, that the exemplar was translated or 25
carried to *Brecknocke* there to be kept.

Now must we report the Battels.

John Stow.

The writer of the life of the reuerent *Dubritius*, Archebishop of the Cittie *Caerlegion* vpon *Vsk*, not vnelegantly, doth commemorate such like matters. When at length *Aurelius* the 30
King was made away by poyson, (and that *Vther*, his brother ruled a few yeares) *Arthure* his Sonne by the helpe of *Dubritius* succeded in gouernement, who with bold courage set vpon the *Saxones* in many battels, and yet could he not vterly roote them out of his Kingdome. For the *Saxones* had subdued vnto 35
them selues the whole compasse of the Island which stretcheth from the water of *Humber* vnto the Sea *Catteneffinum* or *Scottish* Sea. For that cause the Peares of the Realme being called

What time
Arthure suc-
ceeded Vther
his Father.

Arthure could
not cleane
roote all the
Saxones out
of Brittain.

- together, he determined by their counsell what he might best do,
 against the [4] irruption of the Pagane *Saxones*. At length by
 common counsell he sendeth into *Armorica*, (that is to say, the
 lesser *Brittaine*,) vnto King *Hoel* his Ambassadors, which aduer-
 5 tised him at full, touching the calamitie of the *Brittaines*, who
 comming with fiftene thousand of armed men into *Brittaine*
 was honorably entertayned of *Arthure*, and *D. Dubritius*: going
 vnto the Cittie of *Lincolne* beseegeed of the *Saxones*, hauing
 fought y^e battell, there were six thousand of *Saxones* which
 10 eyther being drowned or wounded with weapons, dyed. But
 the others flying away vnto the wood of *Caledon*, being beseegeed
 by the *Brittaines*, were constrayned to yeeld themselues: and
 pledges being taken for tribute yearely to be paid, he gaue them
 leaue with their shippes onely to returne into their Countrie.
 15 Afterwardes within a short time the *Saxones* were ashamed of the
 league made: and hauing recouered their strength, they made
 their league as voyde, and beseegeed the Cittie *Badon* rounde
 aboute, which now is called *Bathe*: this when *Arthure* hearde
 of, hauinge gathered his hoaste together, and beholding the
 20 Tentes of his enemies, he spake thus vnto them.
 Because the most vngodly *Saxones*, disdaine to keepe promise
 with me, I keeping faith with my God, will endeouore to be
 aduenged of them for the bloud and slaughter of my Citizens:
 Let vs therefore manfully fet vpon those Traytours whom by
 25 the Mediation of Christ out of all doubt we shall ouercome with
 a wished triumphe. And hee rushing vpon the ranckes of the
Saxones, beinge helped by the prayers of *Dubritius* in ouer-
 throwing many thousandes, obtayned the victorie: and the few
 which fled this garboyle, he caused them to yeelde to his mercy.
 30 *Boccace* in his booke of Lakes and Marishes, thus wryteth.
Murais that Lake so called famous is, by the victory of *Arthure*,
 King of *Brittaine*: for men say that the *Scottes*, *Pictes* and
Irishmen being by him beseegeed, were compelled to yeelde
 themselues there. The same Authour in his viii. booke of
 35 *Famousse Personages* maketh a notable mention of *Arthure*
 being moued with a certaine [4 back] Godly zeale, to the end
 he would not with vnthankfull silence ouerpasse, so mighty
 a personage, and so worthie a man. Neyther here are those
 thinges which appeare in the Cronicles of a certaine writer

Hoel King of
 Brittain aides
 him with a
 powe[r] of
 15000 men.
 Lincolne be-
 seegeed by the
 Saxones.
 Their
 slaughter and
 fl[ight].

Bath beseegeed
 by the Saxons.

K. Arthure
 seeks to be
 aduenged of
 the Saxones.
 His wordes.

His victorie
 ouer them.

Boccace men-
 tioneth of
 Arthure.
 M. Camden.

Cerdicius
the Saxon
helde warre
with Arthure.
Arth. friendly
to his foo.

of *Digion* differing from our purpose. *Cerdicius* hauing more often conflict with *Arthure*, if he were one moneth vanquished, he more sharply assaulted in another moneth. At length *Arthure*, with irksome toyle so being awearied, after the xii yeare of *Cerdicius* his comming (by fealtie to him sworne) gaue 5 him the Country *Auonia* Southwarde and *Somaria*: which part *Cerdicius* called *West saxony*.

William of
Malmsbury.

Arthure sore
distressed had
it not bene for
Ambrose
a Romaine.

Gulielmus a Medulphi curia both a gallant writer, and also a learned, and which thing first in his history (he as most faith-
full) in his first booke of the Kinges of *Britaine* mencioneth, 10
bringeth in by the way these testimonies, of *Arthure*. And
now truly had it come to an euill passe with the *Brittaines* (as he
vnderstoode) had not *Ambrose* onely of the *Romans* bene left
aliue, (who after *Vortigerus*, was *Monarke or King*), with the
surpassing exploit of warlike *Arthure*, repressed the outragious 15
barbarouse enemies¹ of the Kingdome.

Gildas.

Moreouer hetherunto seeme these things to pertaine, which in the fragmentes of *Gildas* the *Brittaine* are reade after this manner. The *Brittaines* like conquerours take courage to them, prouocating their enemies to fight, vnto whom by the 20
Lordes good pleasure the victorie fell euen to their desire. From that time, otherwhiles the Citizens, otherwhiles the enemies got the vpper hand, that in this people it might be approued, how the Lord after his accustomed manner, dealt with this present *Ifraell*, and whether he loued the same, yea, or no, euen vnto the 25
yeare of the seege of the mount *Badon*, and lastly almost of the petty spoylers there, in no litle hurlyburly, whereas euen I my selfe was borne. These saith *Gildas*. Behold the slaunderer is now present, and as one cruell of eye sight, requireth a reason of me, why *Gildas* remembreth not *Arthure*, if he were then liuing. 30
To these I answere, that I will hereafter speake of *Gildas*. In meane time the aduerfarie calleth to minde, that *Gildas* when the [5] battaile was fought at *Bathe*, was but an Infant: By reason whereof euen his Actes done or not done of him, somewhat slenderly are vnderstood by the aduerfarie. 35

Aduerfaries
quarrel
against
Arthure.

William of
Malmesburie
a friendly
writer.

Gulielmus a Medulphi Curia, a little before, beareth so honour-
able a testimonie of *Arthure*, that smally it shall differ, whether, if

¹ Text, *enemines*.

not superiour, yet as equall hee reputed him with *Ambrose*. But *Nennius* an Authour of no bad credite, so much perfourmed *Nennius* in fauour of *Aurelius Ambrosius* as *Gildas* in the fauour of another. *Arthure*: Uiz. that leauing out the name of the one, hee might
 5 attribute vprightly by iust cause vnto the other all honour, concerning the battle sought at *Bathe*. But neither doe these alone performe this: There are a number of good authours, which confirme the selfe same matter with a certaine iust Authority. Except in meane time, he be so vniust a Iudge, that he allowe of
 10 nothing, bee it neuer so credible, which smelleth not of *Tullie* or *Liuy*, when he him selfe in meane time smelleth I know not what of *Æmilius*: Which thing shall not displease me, when I shall vnderstand, that hee franckely confesseth this matter. In the meane while I wil recyte the testimony of that *John* which con-
 15 cerning *Arthure* write the golden historie. This yeere beeing the tenth of *Cerdicius*, king of the West *Saxones*, did arise *Arthure* among y^e *Brittaines*, a most valiant warriar.

Chap. iiii.

K. Arthures expedition towards the French.

The sixte booke of the *History of Brittain* speaketh copiously
 10 touching things done by *Arthure* in *Fraunce*: vnto which countrie he went not, before hee had foreseene (as it seemed then in deede) with aduised counsell, the immunitie or disburdenance of *Brittaines* troubles. He had to Nephewe one *Mordred* by name, sonne of *Mordred*
Lotho, king of the *Pictes* & of *Anna* sister of *Aurelius Ambrosius* *Arthure* his
 25 king of *Brittain*. Unto this man, because hee was most nearest Nephewe, put
 in bloodde, and familiar in acquaintance, did hee committe all in great trust.
 his kingdome, together with *Guenhera* his most louing wife. For *Mordred*, in respect of forti-[5 back]tude or magnanimie, was most commendable, and besides this for his quick
 30 and prompt witte, in accomplishing his affayres: which vertues, His vertues
 had hee not obscured with most ardent lust of ruling, and offence mixt with
 of adultery, (but in meane time at first kept close for feare) hee vices.
 had in deede beene worthie to haue beene accompted amongst the most famous personages. Nowe had *Arthure* entered into

Hoels neece,
viz. Helen,
stolne out of
Armorica.

Arthure
reuengeth
that injury.

Diuionensis.

Arth. sub-
duing
Fraunce, his
Nephewe
Mordred in
meane time
betrayeth him
confederating
with Cer-
dicius.

Anno. 516.
Mordred
crowned.

Arth. re-
turned into
England.

Fraunce, and the *Gouernors* being subdued, hee had left a notable testimony of his prowesse there. Behold, now commeth a sauage Tyraunt, cruell and fierce, who had rauished *Helen* the neece of *Hoel* of *Armorica*, or the lesse *Brittaine* (stolen away and brought out of *Brittaine*) at the coaste of *Fraunce*, and where vpon she 5 died. *Arthure* could not take well this so heynous a reproach done vnto *Helen*, and straight way gotte the Tyraunte by the throate, that hee vterly destroyed this greate and horrible Monster. And not longe after did *Hoel* cause to bee erected a sacred Tombe for *Helen* in the Islande where she died, and 10 a name fitly giuen vnto the place where *Helens* Tombe was made, which serueth euen till this daye. The Cronicles of the writer of *Digion* in *Burgonie*, doe with greate commendation extolle *Arthure* warring in *Fraunce*, by these like wordes.

Arthure for nine yeeres space, subdued *Fraunce* vnto him, 15 hauing betaken his kingdome and *Queene* vnto *Mordred* his Nephew. But he desiring ambitiously to raigne (yet fearing only *Cerdicius*) gaue him, to the end hee should fauour his doinges, seauen other prouinces. viz. *Sudo Saxony* or Southsex, *Sudorheiam* or Southery, *Berrockiam* or *Barckeshyre*: *Vilugiam* or 20 *Wiltshier*: *Duriam* or *Dorcetshier*: *Deuoniam* or *Deuonshier*: and *Corineam Cornwale*. And *Cerdicius* consenting vnto these (sending for y^e englishmen) restored his prouinces, and was crowned after the manner of the countrie at *Winchesfer*. But *Mordred* was crowned ouer the *Brittaines* at *London*. And so 25 *Cerdicius*, when he had raigned three yeeres, died, while *Arthure* yet remayned amongst the *French*: vnto whome *Kinrichus* succeded. In the Seauenth yeere of whose Raigne *Ar*-[6] *thure*, returned into Englande. Thus farre out of the *Cronicles*. These which I haue nowe recited, haue not onely their antiquitie, 30 but also credite, and with a certaine circumstance are consonant to the History.

And that I may somewhat more friendly speake in fauour of *A*[*r*]thures Tryumphes ouer the French, there are (besides these) many thinges, which I with a certaine zeale doe omitte altogether. 35 But yet, that must I as it were touch by passing ouer the rest: viz. that it is manifest by the inscription of *Arthures* greate Seale (concerning which wee will in place conuenient speake circumspectly) that he was made famous by the surname of a French

man. And neither was this donne without manyfest occasion, at any time. For, as touching the Antiquytie and euen most sure knowledge of the Seale, so euidently, I doubt not, but that I may assuredly beleue (so their appears vpright Iudges heerein, and
 5 which are skilfull in auncient monumentes) that I shall proue by notable reafons, the same was proper, peculier and naturall, and proceeding from the workemaster. But these thinges more rightly appeare in there place. I will at this instant onely heereto adioyne one *Valerius*, which remembreth vs of thirtie kingdomes
 10 vanquished by *Arthure*. For in those dayes a greate company of *Gouernoures* helde vnder their Iurefdiction the Islands together with *Fraunce* and *Germany*.

Valerius
 reporting that
 K. *Arthure*
 vanquished
 30. kingdomes.

Chap. v.

K. *Arthures* Familier Cheualyers, or knightes.

SOME man woulde peradventure here looke for, that I shoulde
 15 also with a mightie praise blaze on the victories of *Arthure*, touching which the historie of *Brittaine* reporteth. Historiographers doe contend in this behalfe, and the controuerfie, as yet resteth vnder the Iudge. But I will declare nothing rashly: For so much as it appeareth most euidently, that both obscure
 20 and absurde reportes haue crept into the historie of *Arthure*: which thing is [6 back] of the curious forte easly found faulte with. But this in deede is not a cause sufficient iust, why any man should neglect, abiect, or deface the Historie otherwise of it selfe, lightfome and true. Howe much better is it (casting away
 25 trifles, cutting off olde wiues tales, and superfluous fables, in deede of statly porte in outwarde shew, but nothing auayleable vnto credite, beeing taken away) to reade, scanne vpon, and preferue in memorie those thinges which are consonant by Authoritye. For, that which nowe a long time is embraced of
 30 Learned men with greate consent: ought not in what soeuer moment of time barcking against it, together with faith or credite thereof, to be quite taken away.

Otherwise the History had not hetherto remained in so greate reputation. Therefore, because it is a worke of greater impor-
 35 taunce, than wee presentlie are in hande with, exquisitely,

K. Arthures
knights of
his round
Table.

Hoel the
first knight.

Gallouinus
the second
knight.

Two writers
aduancing
the fame of
Gallouinus.

curiously and perfectlie to displaye all the deedes of *Arthure*: let vs for this season omitte the *Romaines*, and let vs aduance with penne his famylier friendes. *Hoelus* Gouvernour of *Armorica*, or the lesse *Brittaine* in this famous Company of Nobles, by a certaine righte of his, requyreth the next place from the first: 5 Concerning whose comming into *Brittaine*, and warlike prowesse, we haue formerly written in the chapter of the warres accomplished by *Arthure*.

Hetherunto enfewe *Mordred* and *Gallouinus*, Brethren Ger- maynes vnto *Arthure* by bloodde and familiarity alyed. Of 10 which two, this first at length, like a periured person and the same a Reuoulter neuer enough discommendable (that I speake nothing of the crime of his adultery) was slayne in battle. One *Hector Abrinus* beeing thereof scarce a true witnesse, and as I gather with iudgement, more rightly firnamed *Alaunicus*. But 15 the second, being alwaies a man constant, perfourmed most faithfull diligence both in all forraine warres, and also specially in that conflict at *Dorcestre*, aboute the returne of *Arthure* out of *Fraunce* into *Brittaine*, who was chiefe next vnto him against *Mordred*. *Melchinus* the Brittish Poet [7] blaifeth the fame of 20 *Gallouinus*. The same doth *Iohannes Anneuillanus* in his booke intituled *Architrenio* a worke not vnelegant, namely by these verses.

Et Walganus ego qui nil reminiscor auara
Illoculasse manu: non hæc mea fulgurat auro, 25
Sed gladio dextra: recipit, quo spargat, & enses;
Non loculos stringit, nec opes: in carcere miles
Degener & cupide, tumultato rusticus ære,
Et me bella vocant Et tua forsitan vrget
Solicitude: vale. 30

*And Walgan I with couetous hand nought distribute which haue
This my right hand shines not with gold but with the sword
so braue*

*It takes that it may distribute, euen swordes not bagges it bendes,
Nor wealth, though I a Knight distrest, yet not vntrue to friendes, 35
Ne yet in countrie liued I like a couetouse mucke scrape:*

But now the warres away call me vnto my wonted state,

And thine affaires also,

Perhappes vrge the thereto:

Farewell.

- Also that History of *Arthure*, in deede *Fabulus* (which commonly is carried about written in the mother tongue) affirmeth that *Gallouinus* was buried in a certaine Chappell at *Dorchester*. In which poynt what manner booke soeuer it be, it
 5 misseth not the marke altogether, as the booke entituled *Scalæcronicon* makes manifest relation: and y^e inhabitantes of y^e Castle do now repute his bones almost Gyantlike in stead of a miracle. And that long since in the time of *Lucius Magnus* there was a Chappell founded in the Castle of *Dorchester* and
 10 dedicated vnto our Lord and Sauour Christ: what time *Fugatius* and *Damianus Brittaines* preached the Gospell as by the *Annales* or yearly recordes of the same Cittie (bearing a reuerent figure & resemblance of Antiquitie) it doth plainly appeare. That it may be most acceptable, and besides that most true which I haue
 15 about inferred, touching both the death and buriall of *Gallouinus*: it shall not through me stand, that the iudgement of *William de Medulphi Curia* as touching the death and buriall of this *Gallouinus* (by reason of his fortitude neuer [7 back] enough commended) should eyther weare out of memory or vtterly perish.
 20 Wherefore I esteeme it worthie the labour here to sette downe his wordes out of the third booke of the *Kinges of England* that herehence the discreete Reader might euen fully try as it were at a tutchstone the sincere brightnesse of true gold, from that which is counterfeite.
- 25 Then in the Prouince of *Wales* which is called *Roffia* was founde the Sepulchre or Tombe of *Gallouinus* or *Walwine*, which was the Nephewe not degenerate of *Arthure*, by his sister. He gouerned (in the Coast of *Brittaine* which to this day is called *Waluuthia*) as a Knight most famous in prowesse: but being (of
 30 his brother, and the Nephew to *Hengistus* concerning whom I haue spoken in the first booke) driuen out of his Kingdome, did first to their great detriment recompence his banishment, iustly pertaking praise with his Unckle, for that he put off or auoyded the downefall from his Country then ruinouse. But
 35 *Arthures* Tombe was at no time seene, wherevpon Antiquitie of foolish dreames and fables, did vainely surmise that he would yet come againe. But the burying place of the other (as before I set down in the time of *William* the first *King of England*) was found fourteene foote long vpon the Sea coast, where (as

Gallouinus
buried at
Dorchester.

His bones
Giantlike.
Accordinge to
the record of
Glastenbury
the names are
Fagaues and
Diruianus.

This *Lucius*
being created
the first
Christan King
in England
liued about
the yere after
Christ 182.

William of
Malmesbury
his iudgment
of *Gallouinus*.

His wordes
of reporte.

The manner
of Galouinu.
his death,
after the
reporte of
W. Malmsb.

William of
Malmsbury.

John Leylands
opinion to the
contrarie.

His prooffe
out of a
brittish Poet
named
Iosephus.

some men affirme) he was wounded of his enemies and cast out of shipwreke : certaine perfoncs haue faide, hee was flaine by the Citizens at publike banquet. So faith the Authour *Gulielmus Meildunenfis*, as concerning *Gallouinus*. But I (if it might bee lawfull for me as a puny) would make tryall of my strength with 5 thefe weapons, againft this authour *Meildunenfis* fo olde and moft beaten Souldier, to beftow & beare of the blowes. viz. It is not like to be true, that men of Gyantlike height (as I gather by y^e graue 14. foote long) were then liuing in the dayes of *Gallouinus*. Wherefore vndoubtedly in mine opinion it is more 10 credible that it was the graue of fome *Gyant* inhabitinge the countrie. For that firft fuch did inhabit *Albion*, it appeareth both by auctoritie of forraine and of our owne writers. The one of which two his credit I folowing, namely *Iofephus* of *Deuonfhire* a Brittifh Poet, moft abfolutely elegante by all [8] meanes, 15 (hauing taken out of his *Antiocheides* a work immortal, thefe few verfes) I will vfe them as testimony for breuitie fake.

His Brutus auito

Sanguine Troianus, Latijs egreffus ab oris

Post varios cafus confedit finibus, orbem

20

Fatalem nactus, debellatorque Gigantum,

Et terræ Victor nomen dedit.

*A Troian Brute by auncient bloude, ariued from Romaine reade
After fundry hazardes, and, here in thefe coaftes aboade
And hauing got his deft[i]ned land, subdued the Gyants fell 25
As Conquerour he left his fame vpon the earth to dwell.*

Architrenius in his fixt booke of *Gyantes* inhabiting *Albion* recyteth thefe.

Hos audium belli *Corinei* robor auerno

Præcipites mift : cubitis ter quatuor altum.

30

Gogmagog Herculea fufpendit in aere lucta,

Antheumque fuum fcopulo, detrufit in æquor.

*These Corineus his puyfant strength (of eager moode to fight)
To hell fent headlong : Gogmagog of twelue cubites height,*

By him (like Hercules wraſtling) into the aire was throwne
His Antheus eke and from the rocke in ſeaes 'was caſt
adowne.

NEyther am I ignorant that in times paſt there was on y^e ſea
5 ſhoare a Caſtle called *Galouine*, touching which the Authour
Meildunenfis as aboue hath written: whoſe footſteppes are as
yet apparant. But that was not the habitation of the Gyant, as
neyther perhappes of that *Galouine* of *Arthures*, but of ſome
latter vycegerent bearing the ſame name. But y^t which he
10 mentioneth of *Arthures* Tombe at that time, is moſt true. No William of
one man more curiouſly ſearched forth, at any time all the Malmsbury
treafures of the library at *Glaſtenbury*. This onely was here a moſt curious
wanting in him towards knowledge, that he dying about the and painful
firſt yeare of the Raigne of *Henry y^e ſecond King of England*, ſearcher of
15 knew nothing of *Arthurs* tombe. For ſo much as y^e ſame Antiquitie.
tombe was found afterwards in y^e beginning of y^e raigne
of *K. Richard coeur de lyon*. But I returne with¹ William William of
Meildunenfis into favour, [8 back] out of the which as yet I haue Malmsbury.
not openly fallen: By whome a man as in his age moſt learned
20 in all kind of Good letters, and of ſinguler wit, diligence and
care in ſearching forth Antiquitie, I confeſſe and in deede that
franckly muſt affirme my ſelfe to haue beene oftentimes helped
in the knowledge of Antiquitie. Undoubtedly it is a poynte of
honeſtie to acknowledge by whom a man profiteth. It liketh me
25 well, here, vnto the concluſion to adde the notation which
I myſelfe gather of the name of *Gallouinus* out of the *Brittiſh* The interpre-
language. *Walle* ſignifieth ſtraungers or walſh, *Guin*, *Album*, or tation of
white. Like as if a man by this phraſe would deſcribe a comely, Gallouinus
elegant and beawtifull perſonag: except a man more rightly his name.
30 thinke that he tooke his originall from the *Saxonifh* rude lan-
guage, as *Walwine* ſignifieth *Gallus Amicus*, *Leoffwyn Charus*
Amicus, and *Aldwyne Vetus Amicus*.

Now approucheth *Auguſellus*,² of whom we haue aboute Anguſellus
ſpoken a fewe wordes. Who was in ſo feruent fauour with the third
35 *Arthure*, that hee was deſeruingly made a beneficiall Gouvernour knight.
ouer the *Scottes*. This man rendered like for like.

¹ Text, w^e (apparently), but evidently meant for w^t = with.

² See note.

John Stow.
An aunient
Cittie in Kent
nere Sand-
wich the
ruins of it yet
remaine.

The Prowesse
and valiant
adventure of
him, one
Graius a
writer
witnesseth.

John Stowe.

Wryters.
Geoffrey of
Munmouth.
Iohn of
Borow.
Rossus of
Warwicke.
Anonimus
a writer.

Iderus the
4. knight,
neare of blood
vnto Arthure.

Being sent for amongst many other *Princes* to the end he might performe him selfe a companion with *Arthure* in his expedition towards *Fraunce*, so farre refused hee not his enioyned charge, that with greate example of valiancie there manifested, and retorning home on the Coast of Richborow with much more prowesse, (*Mordred* beinge ouercome in ciuil wars and there put to flight) he falling amongst the Hoastes with bloud & lyfe endangered, valiantly behaued himselfe: as y^e Authour of those bookes *Schalechronica* (one *Grayius* as I suppose) is none euil witnesse at al thereof. And because touching the chusing out, or election of those *Princes* (vnto *Arthure* being obedient) we haue formerly made promise: it auaieth here to signifie that there were many & notable elections, not spoken of by him.

But that was most notable of all, which appeared in *Ife* or *Exceter* otherwise in the Cittie of *Caerlegion*, or *Chester* vpon *Vske*. What time it was proclamed vnto wars against y^e *French*. But what haue the *Muses* to do with *Mars*? vndoubtedly [9] either little or nothing. And yet if there were a iust familiaritie betweene them, they shoulde rather wish well vnto *Mars*, that for his sake they might deseruingly giue *Arthure* greate thanks, who either restored or instituted a Learned Quier of Ecclesiasticall persons in the faide cittie of *Caerlegion*: if *Geoffrey* of *Munmouth*, *Iohn Burgenis*, and *Rossus Verouicensis* declare the trueth. This in meane time appeareth plaine by the historie of *Anonimus* the writer, that *Amphibalus*, *Iulius*, & *Aarona* martyres did worship *Christ*, and also had learning in estimation in the faide cittie of *Caerlegion* or *Chester* vpon *Vske*. From whome agayne credible it is that others receiued the same letters from hand to hande. There is also (if we may beleuee credible reporte) in the treasuries at *Cambridge* at this daye, a Table of the priuiledge by *Arthure* sometime confirmed to the furdurance of students. But as yet haue I not searched out the credite of this deede.

Iderus sometime a speciall fauourer of *K. Arthures* court comes nowe to the number of those *Cheualyers*. This man beinge neare ayed in blood vnto *Arthure*, performed many valyant examples of prowesse, and continually did cleaue to his *Princes* side. And at length, by what hap I knowe not, (hee dying,) left a speciall wellwishing vnto *Arthure*: who also care-

fully accomplished his funerall at *Aualonia*. I haue reade at *Glastenburie* a little booke of the antiquitie thereof, gathered very dilligently by a certaine Moncke of that place : In which booke he declareth many thinges of *Arthures* good will to-
 5 wardes this man departed : and of y^e liberalitie or beneficiall goodnesse (for y^e same his cofens sake) bestowed vpon religious persons there inhabiting. Of late there did hang a Table
 at a pillor within y^e Church of *Glastenburie*, which accounted His benefi-
Iderus amongst the Benefactors and restorsers of the Church at cency
 10 *Glastenburie*. *Lancelot* a man most famous requireth place euen towards the
 amongst y^e most excellent *Cheualyers* to be giuen him. Unto Church at
 which desire I easilie graunt as one readie to speake this in his *Glastenbury*.
 commendation : that hee was a certaine vpriht and faithfull Lancelot
 friende of *Arthures*. His valiancy appeared largely at y^e battle the fifth
 15 which [9 back] was fought betweene *Mordred* the traytor and knight.
Arthure. He liued in deede after the battle, & as I reade once or A faithfull
 twice, conueyed vnto *Guenhera* (mourning at *Arthures* death) friend and
 the bodie from *Amberfburie* vnto *Glastenburie*. But *Gyraldus* valiant
 seemeth sincerely to attribute his buriall in one place or other aduenger of
 20 at *Glastenbury*, as in his *Speculo Ecclesiastico* : & in his worke iniury done
De Institutione Principis, appeareth. Although it rather seemeth by *Mordred*
 to me in mine opinion y^t he tooke his firste tombe at *Amberf- vnto Arthure*.
burie. *Caradocus* a name of noble prowesse martiall, followed Syluester
 25 *Arthure* in his expedition towards *Fraunce*. And returning *Giraldus* his
 homewarde was slaine, as it seemeth on the coast of *Rich- testimonie of*
borowe, in the ciuill battle. The Cronicles of the porte of his buriall at
Dorchester, a worke fauoring of antiquitie makes mention of *Glastenburie*.
Caradocus. The inhabitants of the Castle there euen at this Carodocus
 day after a sorte renewe the memorie of *Caradocus*, affirming y^e fixte
 30 that they haue in their Custodie I knowe not what Lyneamentes knight
 of his. And not so contented, they sette soorth *Arthures* Courte, Whose fame
 and *Guenheras* lodging. Nowe ruffeth in the number and the Cronicles
 traine of *Arthures* noble warriors. But I, (so y^t it be done of *Dorchester*
 without offence to them, because I haue onely taken vpon me to extoll.
 35 name the most excellentest of them and to praife them) haue pur-
 posed to ouerpasse the residue, yet otherwise praife worthie, and
 last of all to adioyne that *Cadorus* of *Cornewale*. Hee was Cadorus the
 of the most noble progeny of the kinges of *Brittaine*, and 7. knight, of
 gouerned the people in the Mountayny foyles of *Cornewale*. the most
 noble pro-

genie of the
kinges of
England.

A stoute de-
fender & pre-
ferrer of
his princes
dignitie.
Constantine
his sonne
succeeded
Arth.
Gildas his
testimony of
Constantine
a degenerate
child a
murtherer of
Innocentes.

Undoubtedly he was a stoute defender of his princes dignitie and had perpetuall familiaritie with the *Brittaines*. At length when hee dyed, hee left after him a funne named *Constantine*: (who after the Death of *Arthure*) was made Ruler ouer *Brittaine*. Hee, (to the ende they following their fathers example in times 5 paste shoulde not aspyre vnto the kingedome) caused the sonnes and Supporters of *Mordred* the traytor and Nephewes of *Gallowinus* to be slaine with the sworde. But either this fact or the like doth *Gildas* the *Brittaine* shewe in these wordes. Of which so wicked a mischiefe, *Constantine* the Tyrants vncleane 10 whelpe of *Damonia* [10] was not ignorant, who this yeere after y^e horrible oth made, from which he againe swarued (that he would not worke any iniuries vnto the Citizens, swearing first by God, then by the mother of Christ, and therewith taking all the companies of holy ones to witnesse) did notwithstanding by 15 blooddie fword and speare rush into the tender breasts of two mothers and cruelly perced the bowelles or intrayles of two princelie youtthes, vnder y^e same religious *Amphibalus* & of so many ouerfeers euen standing at y^e very Alter, whose armes (being without armour which no one man at y^e time more 20 valiantlier vsed then they) hee cruelly cut off euen standing at the Alter, and with his Speare violently toare them in peeces. But they shall crie for reuenge vnto God, before the high throne of his Maiestie in the day of iudgement and at the Gates of thy city (Oh Christ) shall they hange vp their reuerend banners of 25 pacience and of faith. Hetherto haue wee spoken of his Knightes or Cheualyers.

Chap. vj.

K. Arthures Rounde Table.

NOWe is there very conuenient place to bringe in amongst other thinges, a fewe, but chosē, excellent, finally magnificent 30 testimonies of *Arthures* round table and of his good cheare. Unto these had not all noble men acceffe: But onelie they, viz

Lucida quos ardens euexit ad æthera Virtus,
Virtus fola virens nullis moritura diebus.

*Whom Vertue cleere aduanced to the skies,
Euen Vertue alone which flourishing neuer dies.*

THIS stately flurre (as they say) he somewhat more often
solemnized. But specially in the cittie of *Caerlegion*, or *Chester*
5 vpon *V/ke* which place he notably esteemed of. The same did
he at *Venia Simenorum* alias *Winchester*, & at *Camalet* in *Somer-*
fetshire. The Common vnlearned sorte of writers supposeth,
that *Venia* to bee called by another name, that is to saye,
Camelet. But I passe not vpon the iudgement of the common
10 sorte. The publike [10 back] reporte of them which dwelt at
the lowermost parte of the hill *Cancaletum*, or an olde sorte, is,
that *Murotrigum* or the Towne now called *Somerton*, spreadeth,
aduanceth, and solemnely fettes foorth the fame of *Arthure*
sometime inhabiting the Castle. Which Castle of olde time was
15 both most statelie and also most strongly buylded, and in a most
high or loftie prospect. Good Lorde, what and howe many most
deepe Ditches are there heere? How many vallyes are there
heere out of the earth delued? Againe what daungerous sleepe-
nesse? And to end in fewe wordes, truly me seemeth it is
20 a mirackle, both in Arte and nature.

John Stow.
Vfuall places
where K.
Arth. kept
his rounde
talbe.

On this side
Somerton
neare vnto
Glastenbury
is the village
Sutton &
Camelet an
old forte.
K. Arthure
inhabited a
castle at
Somerton.

At feges est vbi *Troia* fuit stabulantur in vrbe,
Et fossis pecudes altis, valloque tument
Taxus, & astutae posuere Cubilia vulpes.

But corne there is where Troy did stand, & cattle there
25 abound,
Stalled in towne with ditches deepe, in trench mounting from
ground,
There Yew trees grow, & subtile Foxes made their cabbins
round.

30 AND in deede this is the interchaunge of humane affayres.
Heerehence had *Ilcester* that auncient Towne this calamitie.
Heereupon doth the customary traffique there beholde the cleere
welspring with heauie eyes, and weepe their fill. There the
inhabitants plow the ground, and euery yeere finde by seeking
35 for them, Golden, Siluer, and Brasen peeces of money, ex-
pressing the images not very liuely of the *Romanes*. Whereof
euen I my selfe haue had a fewe giuen mee of those inhabitants.

Johannes
Anneuillanus,
a writer,
extolleth
K. Arth.
round table.

K. Arthures
round table
where it
standeth.

K. Edward
the first made
much of that
round order
of Knightes in
his time.

Roger Mortimer,
solemnised the
same order at
Kenelworth.

Frauncis Lord Hastings Earle of *Huntington* an excellent ornament of those noble youthes about the King of England, & somtimes my benefactor in good learning, as heire of y^e *Piperells*, *Bottrells*, & of the *Hungerfordes*, hath in his possession the ruined old cotages of *Camelet*, together with y^e large grounds 5
adiacent. *Iohannes Anneuillanus* y^e writer in his *Architrenio* extolleth *Arthures* rounde table for y^e excellency therof. The same doth *Volateranus* in his thirde booke of *Geography*, in these wordes. *He also being plentiful at home, used amongst his nobles a rounde table that there should be no contention, through* 10
ambition for seates. At *Venta Symeno* alias *Winchester* in y^e castle most famously [11] knowne, standeth fixed y^e table at the walle side of y^e kinges Hal, which (for y^e maiesty of *Arthure*) they cal y^e round table. And wherefore? Because neyther the memorie nor felowship of the round Trowpe of Knightes as yet 15
falles out of Noble mens mindes, in the latter age of the world. *King Edward* sirnamed the longe, as fame telleth, made much of that rounde order of Knightes. To those vses was the round table instituted and framed, (if it be worthie of credit) and that it was with three feete made of perfect gold. There bee which 20
write that one Mortimar by name, spent and consumed away those treasures. That thing yet by the way is most certaine out of the historie of *Thomas Vicanius*, that *Roger Mortimer* helde a very great feast or banquet at *Kenelworth*, whether as he of noble minde sent for most excellentest Cheualiers, or Knightes, 25
as it had beene vnto *Arthures* round table of Knightes: Hereupon were very many tokens of knightly prowesse set foorth in deede: which the diligent posteritie shal with great desire reade expressed in wrytinges. But now so long a while, from this Cheualrie of *Arthure* and his trayne, I passe ouer to his godly 30
disposition.

Cap. vii.

King Arthures Godly Disposition.

WITH how greate and how sincere deuotion hee was enclined
 towards the Christian Common wealth, it appeareth plainly by
 the authoritie of auncient writers. He vsed the familiaritie of
 5 *Dubritius* Bishoppe of the Cittie of *Caerlegion* or *Chester* vpon
Vske, a man both of singuler learning and also of continencie in
 life: so farre forth that he throwly felt as victor in the battel at
Bathe, his prayers auaylable. Furthermore *Dauid Meneuensis* a
 man no doubt of exquisite holynesse, as then felt both the fauour
 10 and liberallitie of *Arthure*: so farre forth that the people *Meneu-* Of S. Dauid.
enses, report the Bishoppes sea to haue bene by them receyued as
 by *Arthures* meanes translated from the Cittie of *Caerlegion* or
Chester vpon *Vske* vnto them. *Illutus* a man of incomperable
 lyfe being companion of these two [11 back] hearing that of
 15 singuler magnificence of his, & zeale towards God, was bolde
 (as the fether forth of his life writeth) not onely face to face to goe
 see *Arthure*, but also to salute him and haue communication with
 him. Through which (in deede boldnesse) much lesse offended
 he the *Prince* seeing that he both gaue him very greate thanks
 20 and also an honest rewarde. *Arthure* (if auncient writers and
 constant fame do reporte the truth) had depainted in his Martiall
 target, the similitude of the virgin *Mary*: which target he vsed in
 many battels, and specially in that battell at *Bathe*. In such
 25 tryfling matters I do not much force to write. But by the way,
Samuel the writer of Brittain, and Disciple of *Elbodus* the
 Bishoppe, (who flourished about nyne hundreth yeares agoe)
 thus maketh mention of, concerning *Arthures* expedition or
 rather peregrination. *Arthure* went vnto *Ierusalem* when as he
 30 tooke with him the signe of the Crosse of wood in memory of his
 Sauour, whereof the fragmentes are at this day referued in
Wedale a towne of *Lodoneia*, six miles from *Mailros*. Finally he
 exceedingly esteemed of those Church men at *Glastenbury*, as
 partly I haue aboue saide in *Idero*, and as I will here more
 35 largely shewe. *Siluester Gyraldus* in his booke *De Institutione*

Two Bishops
religiouse
fauourers of
K. Arthures
welfare.

Illutus a
Godly and
learned father
an other
religiouse
fauourer of
Ar.

K. Arthure
his iourney
to Ierusalem.

His zeale &
speciall good
will towards
the Church
men of
Glastenbury.

Principis thus wryteth. For, aboue all the Churches in his Kingedome he fauoured and beare best good will vnto the Church of our Lady *S. Mary* at *Glaſtenbury*, and with greater deuotion aduanced the ſame before other Churches. *Polidorus* (according to his equitie and iudgment, and ſo farre as his⁵ auctoritie ſerueth him) declareth there was no Monasterie at *Glaſtenbury* in *Arthures* time: So exquisite a iudge is he of Antiquitie and ſpecially concerning *Brittaine*. He alſo contendeth that euen all the whole worlde by this rule (but in deede a moſt vniuſt rule) is conſtrayned to embrace, maintaine, and¹⁰ beleue that which is ſpoken of him touching Antiquitie, as that which is pronounced for an Oracle. To that he ſaith and writeth in truth, will I as *Virgill* ſaith. *Enſe leuis nudo parmaque inglorius alba*. That is, (*With naked ſword and ſclender bright ſheelde without boar*^[12]) ſting eaſely defend his auctoritie and¹⁵ iudgment ſo auncient. But what he ſalfy or vntruly declareth, (which thing he doth ſomewhat oftener through all partes of his Hiſtory) I may not beare with all, I can not abide it, neyther will I ſuffer it, but the truth, (ſo much as it ſhall ſtand me vpon) will I reſtore to her comelyneſſe, fame, and glory, as one cheere-²⁰ full and nothing fearefull in ſo doing, though the enemies of truth burſt them ſelues with inwarde mallice. For, vnto this moſt honeſt opinion that I ſhould couragiously cleaue in this behalfe, the thing done by thoſe two Apoſtles of the *Brittaines*, namely *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, and the Epiſtle of *Patritius* the great which²⁵ I haue in my cuſtody confirming the ſame (to omit for breuitie ſake the teſtimonies of many others) do will me, or rather commaund me. *Henry Plantagenet* (the Nephew of *Henry Beauclerke King of England* by the daughter of *Mathilda*) affirmeth, by preſcript and manifeſt wordes in a certaine deede³⁰ of gift, that he ſaw, (and that it ſhould not want vpright credit) that hee read the couenants and articles concerning a certaine beneuolence of *Arthures*, extended towards the religiouſe perſons inhabiting *Aualonia*. But I will hereunto annexe the very wordes of *King Henries* gift, out of the originall deede.³⁵

Moreouer what thinges ſo euer haue beene giuen me from my Predeceſſors, William the firſt, William the ſecond, and Henry my Vnckle. Yea of their Anceſtors, namely of Eadgar the father

¹ Text, of.

John Layland
a bearer with
Polidorus.
So farre as
he brings
forth the
truth, and
otherwise
his enemy.

Alias
Faganus and
Diruianus.
This was
king Henry
the 2. Sonne
of Geoffrey
plantagenet,
brother to
king Henry
the firſt ſuc-
ceding him.
An. 1154
raigned
3. yeares, 9.
monethes, &
12. dayes, and
was buried
[at]¹ Founte-
uerard
in Fraunce.
Wordes con-
tayned in

of Sir Edwarde of Edmond, &¹ of his father Edward, and of King Henry
 Ealfred the Grandfire of the same, of Brinwalchius Kenwinus, the 2. his
 Baldredus, Ina, Cuthredus, and of Arthure, and many other deede of gift
 Christian Kinges. And also of Kenwalchius the Pagan King, proceeding
 5 whose priuileges and writings I haue diligently caused to be searched from king
 and to be presented & read in my presence. Thus far the deed of Arthures
 gift. If these witnessses of fure credit make not sufficient for most beneuolence
 apparant knowledge of the truth, surely there can nothing at Church men
 any time auaylably serue. For not to be satisfiied with these being towards the
 10 receyued and knowen at full, is neyther the parte of a wife head, at Aualonia.
 no nor yet of a good iudgment.

[12 back]

Cap. viii.

King A[r]thures² Seale.

AND becaufe I haue againe entred into the Misteries of sacred
 Antiquitie and am descended a curious searcher into the bowels
 15 thereof, it liketh me to bring forth to light an other matter,
 namely *Arthures* Seale, a monument most cunningly engrauen,
 auncient, and reuerent. Concerninge which, *Caxodunus* maketh
 mention, yet breefly and scenderly in his preface to the history
 of *Arthure*: which the common people readeth printed in the
 20 English tongue. Being moued with the testimony of *Caxodunus*
 whatfoeuer it were, I went vnto *Westminster*, to the end that what
 so as an eare witnesse I had heard, I might at length also as an
 eye witnesse behold the same. Pondering well that sayinge of
Plautus, in my minde. *Pluris valet oculatus testis vnus quam*
 25 *Auriti decem.*

He meaneth
 Robert Cax-
 ton who
 translated
 the history of
 K. Arthure.
 K. Arthures
 Seale kept
 at West-
 minster
 in Iohn
 Leylandes
 dayes.

Of more force standes eye witnesse one,

Than ten eare witnessses among.

The keeper of thofe secretes being requested of mee to shew me
 this monument, by and by delyuered it both to bee seene and
 30 handled. The sight of the Antiquitie pleased me at full, and for
 a long time the Maiestie thereof not onely drewe away but also
 detayned myne eyes from me to the beholding thereof. Of such
 force it is for a man aptly to chaunce vpon a thing with greate
 care desired. The substance which tooke the most lyuelyest

His reporte
 in praise
 thereof,
 describing the
 properties

¹ Text, and after &.

² Text, *Atthures*.

figure of *Arthure* imprinted vpon the Seale, (and which as yet doth firmly keepe the same still) is waxe of redde coloure, which by some mishape, or iniury of long time perished, is crazed here & there into peeces. But so yet notwithstanding as no part of it is altogether lacking. For the fragmentes or litle 5 peeces thereof being beforetime by some mischaunce crazed, are so closed vp together with siluer plates which is of rounde forme, such as is the vtter side of the Seale, that no parte of them may fall off. For vpon the vterside of this seale it is thus engraued with these breefe, but in very deede most excellent, most hauty, 10 and most magnificent tytes. That is to say. [13]

The Inscul-
ture of K.
Arth. Seale
and the
Inscription
ther of,

PATRICIVS ARTVRIVS BRITTANNIÆ, GALLIÆ,
GERMANIÆ, DACIÆ IMPERATOR.

K. Arthures
maiestie
represented
on the seale.
Nota.

And of trueth this inscription circleth the outermost compasse of the Seale. The former parte thereof is most bright shining 15 by a circle of cristall, which being taken off, streightway may any man touch the wax, which by reason of the Antiquitie is most harde. But the portrature of *Arthure* printed thereupon, refembleth I wotte neare what Heroyical Maiestie. For the *Prince* as it were inuested with purple, royally fitteth vpon 20 a halfe circle, such one as we see the raine boe is. Hauing a crowne vpon his heade he shineth like the sunne. In his right hand riseth vp a scepter wrought with a *Flowerdeluce* at the toppe: And his left hand holdeth a globe adorned with a crosse. His bearde also groweth comely, large, and at length, and euen 25 that is a maiestie. The other side of the Seale is altogether couered ouer with a thinne plate of Siluer. By meanes wherof also it is vncertaine of what fashion it is. There hangeth downe at the same a string chainefashionlike twisted of Siluer. Certes Reader, I pray God I be deade but thou wouldest desire to see 30 the same, such and so greate is both the antiquitie and also the maiesty of the thing. At length the keeper of those secretes was there requested by me to signifie vnto me, if he had learned any thing ouer and besides this, as touching the seale hanging thereat. For, amongst very many ornaments which glittering with Gold 35 & precious stones did adorne the tombe of *Eduarde the Simple*, King of England, euen this also was worthie of memorie. But he could say nothing to these demaundes sauing onely this, that

The seale,
one of the
ornaments
which were
about. tombe

hee thought the same was by y^e king laid in y^e place to y^e of K. Edwarde
perpetuall memorie of the most high and mighty prince *Arthure*. the simple.

Surely if a man might lawefully by any coniectures gather and
set downe the trueth in writing, I would not thinke that such

5 a seale had be[en]e¹ translated from *Glastenburie*: vpon which It was trans-
monastery (by misfortune of fire most filthily debased) the most lated from
bountifull prince bestowed such rewardes, as hee for his excellent Glastenbury
godlines might more easly giue, then those monckes might hope to West-
minster.

for. *K. Henrie* himselfe as I haue aboue [13 back] mentioned,
10 made testimony of *Arthures* free gift, and so farre forth as he

both sawe and read the same. By meanes whereof also it might
come to passe, that the parchment beeing eaten out with little
wormes, and moathes by long tract of time, so famous a monu-
ment of antiquitie being founde, he deliuered the same to the

15 Monasterie of first fame, there to be kept safe, and to be seene
for euer of the nobylitie in all posterities. Certes (except my
coniecture faileth me) the expences or charge is small in deede,
yea, none at all. This yet in the meane time pleaseth me, that
while we intreate of *Arthure* and of things done by him,

20 *Glastenbury* is alwaies at hand and most friendly promisetht his
endeuour towards assured knowledge of things. From whence
in deede all y^e fruite of our labour at this present is to be fetcht,

as it were from a most plentiful running fountaine. Neither He meaneth
surely is there any thing apparant, (that I doe knowe of) which either y^e
25 more evidently approueth that *Arthure* was liuing, then the same recordes there,
Seale doth. Which thing, if God so would, some persons as *Chronica*
(leaning rather to their opinion, selfe will, and finally rashnesse, *Gleffobur-*
then vnto any vpright reason) doubt not to deny. But after *genia*,
this we will chuse a place, wherein by full & whole aboundance either els
Patricius
Gleffoburgen-
fis.

30 of argumentes, wee may ouerthrowe the violent rabble of
flaundersers. In the meane season wee must more subtilly
discusse the inscription of the Seale. For, this hath her misteries,
which when they shall receiue light, shall both with greater
pleasure, and also apter grace fill y^e eares of honest readers, and
35 being filled shal wonderfully delight them: which thing is worth
the trauell, & that in deede largely.

The name *PATRICIVS* is taken as from the maiestie of the *Patricius*
Romans. The noble men of Rome are called by that name, whence it
bath originall.

¹ Text, *benec*.

viz. such as are come of the firste Senatours: That seemeth *Tacitus* to signifie by these wordes. In those dayes *Caesar* tooke into the number of Noble men, euery one most auncient of the Senate, or which were of noble personage. *Liuius* makes this mention. *Romulus* created 100 Senators, which were called *Patres* 5 or *Fathers*, by reason of honor done to them & also *Patricij* or noble men by reason of their progeny. Therefore it is euident that *Arthure* receiued that same no-[14]table fame of his name from his parentes and Auncesters. Whereupon also it appeareth that as yet, the glory of *Romane* Maiestie (translated or applied 10 vnto the *Brittaines*, in their titles) waxed not cold in those dayes. I haue also beleeeued that the name of *Arthure* tooke his beginning from the *Romane* *Arthures*. For *Iuuenall* the Poet in his thirde *Satyre* writeth thus.

Patres &
Patricij
why so called.

From whence
the name of
Arthure was
first deriued.

Cedamus Patria, Viuant *Arturius* istic,
& *Catulus*.

15

From our countrie departe let vs :
There Arthure liue and Catulus.

Anno a Christo
nato. 44.

ALthough *Brittaine* was by *Claudius* brought into one only countrie, it was yet a thing most familer amongst y^e noble men 20 of *Brittaine*, partly to take vnto them y^e names of the *Romans*, & to giue them most often vnto their children, by this persua- tion (as I verily beleeeue not foolish) so moued, that herehence they would procure honour vnto them & theirs, & gaine them- selues fauour of the *Romans*. *Lucius* whome the *Brittaines* 25 surnamed the great, *Constantine* and he also the great, *Aurelius Ambrosius*, & *Arthure* vnto these not inferior, doe mightely ratifie this mine opinion. The same thing also is performed in y^e attribution of names vnto noble women. For example, such were *Claudia Ruffina* a woman sincerelie learned, as *Martiall* 30 the Poet witnesseth. *Helena* the most holy matron, and *Vrsula* that *Cynosura* or glittering Starre so called. And where as the inscription of y^e Seale by a certaine circumstance of words calleth him *Emperor of Brittain, Fraunce, Germany* & finally of *Denmarcke*. This also commeth to passe through y^e custome 35 of the *Romans* & their dilligence, y^t together with their triumphes the titles also of nations conquered might accrewe or encrease vnto the conqueror. For a token hereof the *Bowes* were vsed

Perottus
in Cornuco-
pia nameth
her a Nimph,
& one o
Iupiters
nieces.

Bowes
vsed for

in triumphes at Rome, and the Coynes of *Caesar* with their triumphes
 figures were with like care stamped. But the name of the at Rome.
 Emperor, as by *Auncientie*, (after the testimony of *Caesar*, *Cicero*,
 and *Liuius* apparant) pertained vnto the gouernors of y^e legions:
 5 wherupon *Arthure* is called Emperor by [14 back] an apt worde, *Arthure*
 significant, and as it were a pure *Latine* Phrase. And where as aptly called
 the inscription hath not *Arturius* but *Arturus* (leauing out the Emperor.
 letter .i.) that doe I impute vnto the error or negligence of the
 ingrauer only. Proper names of the *Romaynes* by a certaine
 10 composition or methode, & by a certaine nature of theirs, doe
 runne at length more delicately & more familiarly, & doe end in
ius rather then in *us*: as *Æmilius*, *Manlius*, *Claudius*, *Cornelius*,
Terentius, *Vergilius*, *Horatius*, and *Ouidius*. I haue faide before
 my minde touching *Arthures* triumphes by reason of his battles
 15 prosperously accomplished against the *Saxones* & *Frenchmen*. It
 now remaineth (that being put in minde of y^e inscription of his
 feale) concerning GERMANIE & DENMARCKE I shoulde
 speake somewhat. But heere the authoritie of auncient historio-
 graphers (while I would proceede to so honest a purpose) doth
 20 not minister vnto me (according as my desire is to write) sufficient
 matter in this poynte. And of truth in the meane time not to
 defend the cause I haue taken vpon me, were no doubt a matter
 of controuerisie. I will be so bold therfore as one fully con-
 firmed with this so assured & manifest testimonie of inscription, to
 25 promise the reader faithfully y^t *Arthure* hauing vanquished the
 French men by some memorable garboile did feight hand to
 hand with y^e *Germaines* and the *Dacians*. Except any man con-
 tend y^t the victory respected thus farre, y^t *Arthure* in the ciuill
 battle sharply tamed y^e *Saxons* & *Cymbrians* of the Germaine
 30 and Danlike people. *Chersonesus* of the *Cymbrians* was in
 times past y^e part of *Germany* which is now called by later
 termes or names *Denmarcke* and *Norway*. The more ancient
 kinges of these nations (as I haue heard) did in their priuileges
 write themfelues rulers not of y^e *Danes*, but of y^e *Dacians*.
 35 And yet there are amongst y^e learned forte which affirme y^t
 the *Dacians* inhabited that region which is now called *Moldauia*,
 & *Valachia*. *Volateranus* in his 3. booke of *Geography* affirmeth, K. Arth.
 y^t part of *Fraunce*, of *Norway*, and of *Dacia* was conquered by conquestes
Arthure. Also *Trilemius* writeth on this manner. Which thing in forraigne
 countries.

John Stow.

when the kinges of Dacia and of Norway did heare they comming
 thether of theyr owne freewill and [15] *voluntarie mindes*, became
subiect vnto his gouernment. Here must the Reader be admon-
 ished of me, that not onely ye *Saxones*, *English men*, & *Iuities*
 otherwise *Vites* so called, came into Brittain, but also the
 inhabitantes of al ye Coastes of *Germany*. Otherwise they had
 beene vnmeete matches for so many battelles and broyles. Now
 haue I described out the Seale with the inscription thereupon in
 his colours after a forte. The next enterprife, shall be to sette
 downe in wryting *Arthures* returne out of *Fraunce*, and the
 bloody battelles betweene him and *Mordred*.

Cap. ix.

King Arthures returne out of Fraunce.

Mordred
 was with
 Guenhera
 in Arthures
 absence,
 practising
 mischeefe
 with
 Cerdicius
 that Saxon.

K. Arthures
 expedition
 against
 Mordred.

John Stow.

ARthure had aduertisement both by letters and also by
 messengers of spetiall credit, that *Mordred* his too much familer
 friend was w^t *Guenhera*, whiles himselfe was absent: and besides
 this, that he had entered a League (against the oath of his
 aleageance) with *Cerdicius* the King and with the *Saxons*:
 yeelding vp vnto them (to the infinite daunger of the common
 weale) almost all the Countrie which extendeth towards the
 South part of *Brittaine*. An other mischeefe also happened
 hereunto: then which more pernicious was none. This same most
 lewde reuolt, and most vngracious betrayer of his Lord, and
 Land, (al bondes of amitie, aliance and aleageance being broken)
 takes vpon him the purple roabe not fitte for those his sholders,
 and truffling to a new vpstart tyranny of his, mountes vp to ye
 royall seate. *Arthure* could no longer abide so notable an iniury
 howfoeuer done vnto him by this periured person: although he
 also a few yeares before had determined his iust reuenge vpon
 him, (being yet letted by his warres in *Fraunce*) but that he
 would vtterly subuert by might and maine, so horrible, so ingent,
 and so cruell a monster. His nauy therefore being prepared,
 from the Cittie *Bononia* bordering vpon the coastes of *Belgia*
 vnto the shoare of *Richeborow* (as witnesseth *Mattheus Florilegus*
 together w^t others) he laboureth the Seaes with prosperoufe

windes. The most lew-[15 back]dest seruant of all vnderstood before, the comming of his gracious Lord, and with a full ap-
 poynted Hoast not without counsell and helpe of *Pictes, Scottes,*
 & *West Saxones*, most boldly meetes him, returning home. The
 5 Coast of *Kent* ratled with all manner noyse of weapons: and
 now the Captaines stood orderly before their ensignes: the
 troupe of *Cheualliers* also conquerours of the world w^t cheare-
 full assaults tossed their weapons, parte of them drew out their
 fierie flashing blades, and part shaked their shiuering speares
 10 with strong handes. They had all one voyce. The battells
 were warrelike sightes. *Arthure* most iocund with this prompt
 alacritie and stout courages of his Souldiours, as the miracle both
 of all manhood, and also of ripe wisdome by experience, made
 such a like Oration vnto them by lifting vp his eyes from the
 15 earth vnto heauen, and with cherefulnesse of countenance
 together with a certaine maiestie mixed, saying on this manner.

Mordred
meetes him.

The armies
of them both
encamped.

Yee Cheualiers the most noble lighles of martiall prowesse, and
you the other multitude of most approued valiancie, do see whither
our fortune and associate of so great victories hath brought vs, as
 20 *what we haue with most strong hand gotten abroade, wee may not*
onely keepe vpright, but also get vs more greater booties with some
straunge and large increase: the which thing that it may at this
instant be brought to passe and more easely, such occasion is now
offered vs, as all good happes could not in deede, if they would,
 25 *more plentifully, nor more prosperously offer themselues to fauour vs*
frendly. Let vs therefore go to this geare with most manly
courages, whither as Fortune, Valiancie, and finally victory
calleth vs. Now is the most impudent Mordred at hand, yet one
most nearest to me in bloude, whome I haue brought vp and loued
 30 *in hope of greate fame, and so far forth made much of, and that in*
very many booties bestowed vpon him in deede, and those no lesse
beneficiall as when I should passe into France to aduenge me of
mine enemies, he so seeming to be then vndoubtedly of profound
counsell, vnto him I did both commit my wife & [16] state, (and
 35 *that which is much more) my natiue country to keepe, and to*
gouerne our affaires as our deputie, finally to defend the same most
valiantly from the dayly assault of Saxones, Scottes, & Pictes.
But he in meane time forgetfull of my most bountifull liberallity to-
wards him, & of our familiaritie, (which for most part in humaine

K. Arthures
noble Ora-
tion vnto
his sould-
iours &
subiectes
going to fight
against
Mordred
and his
company.

Nota.
Their
first battell
fought in
Kent.

affaires, hath vndoubtedly cheefest importance) and not remembring the solempne oath of warelike order, wherby he is to me most deeply bounden, like a false periured and mightie contemner of God and man, yea an aduller also, (as Fame reporteth) now entertayneth me, a King and Conquerour of Nations, and his Liege soueraigne 5 Lord returning into mine owne Countrie (if God so would permit him) euen with open hostilitie, hauing ready for his complices the Pictes his kinsmen, the Scottes their neighbours, and last of all the Saxones to helpe him.

Sir Gallou-
inus his
charge.

And neither doth this so notable mischeefe only touch me, but in 10 deede it toucheth you all. Wherfore you most inuincible Champions, my only care, & you most valiant fellow souldiers, with present prowesse, handle your comune cause, and let vertue now shine forth in you, which I haue hetherunto perceived to be ready, valiant & wonderful alwayes. Sir Gallouinus you the most praise 15 worthy garland of warlike prowesse, whose glory for manie causes, and chiefly this, is most commendable vnto the world (in that you haue set at nought, Mordred our commune enemie, and in respect of equitie & oath of your alegeance to vs made, haue despised him your brother in Law.) Stand you here on your¹ right hand, as the 20 most apt furnished horne with strength of Souldiours. For the first shares of hand stroakes and of renome shal light in this troupe of yours. Sir Augufellus as the bulwarke of most approued valiancie shall cast himselfe to encounter with our enemies at the left wing. I my selfe (& God to friend) will in the midst of you fight it out 25 continually and will be present as your onely safegard, but to the enemies will I be a terrour, a scourge, and a deserued destruction. [16 back] But what neede many wordes, which neyther in deede adde nor take away valiant courage. Your valiancy is enlarged by custome, exercise, and sustayning of labour, watchinges and 30 penury, yea finallie by shedding of the enemies bloud, and spoyling the same enemies: For the which considerations both I to you, and you to me againe (God fauouring so iust a cause) do promise assured victory. Go to, make immortall tryall of your manhooedes, and slay down right those traytours at a pinch. When he had 35 thus saide, they altogether at their Gouvernours commaundement shewted aloude, and with a cherefull onfette, bestowing in order their ensignes, far and wide shewed forth the valiant

Sir Augufel-
lus his
charge.

The apparant
promptitude
of K. Arth.
his souldiours.

¹ For our?

tokens of warlike attempt. So at the length partly their
 enemies being slaine, and partly put to flight, *Arthure* obtayned His victory.
 the victory with an horrible ouerthrow of his enemies. But
 there were slaine in that battell fough[t] at the hauen of *Dorchester*,
 5 both *Gallouinus* and *Augufellus* the two thunderbolts of the Two of his
Cheualiers
or knightes
slaine.
 battell, as *Grains* maketh mention in his booke called *Scale-
 cronica*, and as other Authours of fame not to be despyfed, do
 witneffe. *Mordred* blaming *Fortunes* vntowardnesse, with a Nauy
 recouered, & the remnant of his Hoast therein, got him with
 10 shame enough to the hauen of *Tammeroth*¹ on the Sea coaste of
Cornwaile. The noble coarfe of *Gallouinus* was entombed in
 a certaine Chappell within the Cattle of *Dorchester*. But *Arthure*,
 (the death of two so excellent famouse men being fully knowne
 to him) fore bewailed the fame: and with often prayer as, also
 15 with very deepe greefe of heart, suppressing sorrow from
 their handes; (nobly minded and of Godly disposition as he was)
 fatherly tooke care ouer them. And then in deed hauing a fresh
 prepared with incredible expedition a full Hoast and army, he
 determined with long iorneyes to pursue his lewdeemie, and
 20 as it were vpon the snappe to ouerthrowe the fugetiue. *Mordred* Mordredes
preparation
against
King Arthure,
the second
time.
 yet was more craftie, then of power able to withstand: here-
 upon found he out a meane for vnacustomed inuentions. He
 had manifest knowledge giuen him by espyals, that *Arthure* most
 absolutly furnished for the battell, was comming at hand. [17]
 25 Wherefore he commanded euery souldier wearied vpon y^e land,
 & againe w^t toile vpon y^e sea, as also penury of corne, to departe
 for a season, & hauing refreshed their industrie, labour, & dilli-
 gence, as also furnishing them with munition, so well as he could
 through y^e mountayny soiles of *Cornwaile*, by y^e way y^t leadeth
 30 to the banckes of *Seuerne*, not farre thence distant conducteth he
 his hoast with easie iornies: and in a place which of y^e common
 sorte of writers is called *Camblan* (where as are waste grounds &
 partly a natural moist plaine, & a little hill rising vp to y^e vse of
 a watch or a prospect) did he pitch his tents. Here am I com-
 35 pelled to interpose or set downe by the way my iudgment con-
 cerning the place where it was fought by both parts: and for y^e
 cause y^t I should not thinke to bring hether anything amongst
 y^e rest, as if it were out of Iupiters braine, but that with y^e good

¹ For *Tammermouth*? Cf. 49/2.

leauē of y^e learned fort I might explaine my coniecture, without all bitternes or disdaine as it were touching it by the way. In which behalfe I freely confes my selfe hardly to hold opinion with *Hector Boetius* the Scot, which (as his maner is) applieth all most famous facts of antiquity in *Brillaine* to y^e commenda- 5
tion of his owne country, beyond all meane & measure. And here he boldly affirmeth y^t *Arthure* (with his last ensignes) fought it out not far from y^e great flowing riuer of *Seuerne*, which he barbarously calleth *Humbar* not knowing the circumstance of the phraſe. But the history of *Brillaine* beleueeth otherwise, & 10
affirmeth that he scourged his enemies in his last battle in *Cornwale*: so yet notwithstanding as he mentioneth how *Mordred* was y^e second time vanquished and put to flight by *Arthure* at *Winchester*.

Nota.
Arthures
second
battle with
Mordred,
and the place
where.

Graius a
writer in the
fauour of
Arthure.

Graius vndoubtedly an excellent champion in behalfe of y^e 15
truth & a stoute assertor of *Arthures* glory, holdes y^e same opinion. Neither singeth the found censured society of learned witnesſes any other Song. But truely our coniecture is not of the places, but of the name of the place. Surelie I am almost brought to that poynte, to beleue that the Riuer *Alaune* 20
is easily chaunged by the faulte of vnlearned Lybraryes into *Camblan*. This Riuer ryfeth in *Cornwale* a fewe Myles aboute the Towne *Athelstowe* otherwise *Padstowe*, a fisher Towne not farre [17 back] scituate from the Salte water of *Seuerne*: by meanes wherof, (but yet mixed with salte waters) it runneth 25
downe lower into the countrie. Aboute the heade springes of that Originall in Champion grounde, and a certaine waste plaine, there is a famous place, somewhat more fruitfull of grasse then of corne. The reporte (amongest the inhabitants so many ages preferued) declareth that of olde time, there was made a notable 30
garboile by fighting in y^t place, but in meane time the truth of the historie is vnknowne vnto y^e common sorte. Many things no doubt euen in this our age are founde out of y^e same place by ploughmen & those that delue at the Riuer: such as are these quoyes which shewe the governments of auncient perſonages, 35
ringes, fragments of harnesse & braſen ornaments for Bridles vnguilte, for trappers & also Saddles for Horſes. This is my coniecture, both by reason of the scituation of the place, & also for y^e name of y^e riuer *Alaune*, running hard by, yet not far

M. Cambden.

dissonant (if a man behold it more throughly) from *Camblan*.

Arthure now draweth neare, & passing ouer y^e riuer of *Tamer-* M. Camden.

mouth, by knowne passages, yet otherwise a streame most violent in many places & most deepe (the enemy fugitiue not being regarded) he pitcheth tents against tents. Behold, desperation (as oft times it hapneth) restoreth vnwonted boldnes to the ouer-commmed part. And wherupon both partes prouoke battle, burning with hope of spoyle & of victory, as also fearing nothing lesse then death.

10 Quis cladem illius pugnæ, quis funera fando
Explicit? aut possit lachrymis æquare labores?

*Who shall that bloodie broyle expresse or the dead corpses name?
Or who can iustly tell the toyles, with iust teares for the same?*

MOrdred the first forman of all mischiefe (this battle being attempted) and he thrust through with y^e sword, receiued a iust rewarde for his breach of faith or periury. Let him be an example, & that for euer, to such as for desire of gouernment infringe and violate their faith. There was slaine together with y^e tyrant a great number of noble peronages & of old beaten
20 souldiers: But neither was the victorie without bloodshedde befallen vnto *Arthure*. For in that broyle and [18] fierce fight, himselfe was either slaine outright, or wounded past recouery, so that a little while after with publike lamentation of all *Brittaine* (but specially of his heauie hearted cheualyers for the mischance of so noble a *Prince*) he was carried away from
25 thence. And this in deede was the end or death of the most puissant *Prince Arthure*.

Mordred
slaine out-
right.

K. Arthure
receiued his
deaths
wound, &
yet had the
victorie.

Chap. x.

K. Arthures Commendation.

Arthure is nowe deade (if so hee may bee sayde to haue
30 dyed well) whose fame, memory, and prayse fully and wholly liue, and shine forth in the worlde.

Our ancestors, both *Poets* and also historiographers were so friendly, honest, and thankefull towards *Arthure*, that they both enobled his fame and factes, and also adorned them with eternall

Auncient
Authors, as
Poets, & His-
toriographers,
writing in
commenda-
tion of K.
Arthure.

Christistorio-
graphus.

Ifcæ.

memorie and commendation. *Theliefinus Melchinus*, who is also called *Meuinus*, *Ambrosius Maridunensis*, & *Merlinus Caledonius* the most excellent starres of *Brittaines* antiquitie haue performed this effect. *Nennius* and *Samuell*, historiographers of *Brittaine* haue performed no lesse memorie bestowing their statelie stiles of 5 commendations accordingly. Touching whome and others also wee haue before fitly spoken in their places, affying in the authority of *Galfredus*, *Aluredus*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Iohn* termed the *Golden Historiographer*, *William* of *Malmesburie*, *Graus*, and *Boccace*. 10

But if it now auayle any man to knowe anything as yet more in matter and larger discourfe: I will not refuse (in the best dilligence that I can) to restore to light a fewe wordes taken out of the most approved Authors. *Iosephus* the writer brought vp at *Exceter* in *Deuonshire*, and the Golden flood of Greeke and 15 Latine eloquence in his dayes, extolleth *Arthure* to the very cloudes, not onely for his excellent prowesse, as in his *Antiochides* appeareth by these verses, contending for the victorie with the *Romane* antiquitie.

Hinc cælebrī fato fælici claruit ortu, 20

Flos Regum *Arthurus*: Cuius cum facta stupori

[18 back]

Non micuere minus, quòd totus in aure voluptas,

Et populo narrante fauus, Quæcunque priorum,

Inspice: Pelleum commendat¹ fama Tyrannum.

Pagina Cæsareos, loquitur Romana triumphos, 25

Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstros.

Sed nec Pinetum Coryli, nec sydera solem

Æquant. Annales Latios, Graiosque reuolue.

Prisca parem nescit, æqualem Postera nullum

Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes, 30

Solus, præteritis melior, maiorque futuris.

Hence florished by famous fate, and origin prosperous

Arthure the flowre of kinges, whose deedes shined no lesse merueilous

Then that both peoples eares & tongues did in his praise delite: 35

As. If thou view of former wights, what euer bookes recite.

¹ Text, comemndat.

Fame doth Pelleus tyrant blaze: and Romane histories

Extoll their Caesars tryumphes greate, after their Victories.

Renoume aduanceth Hercules subduing Monsters greate:

But not Coryli, Pinetus, nor Stars the Summe his heate

5 *Coequate. Search the Cronicles of Greekes & Latines both:*

Ancient age knoweth not his like, ne yet posteritie doth

His match declare. All kinges, alone in deede surmounteth he,

Better then those are deade & gone, Greater then any shall be.

There hath beene seene latelie at *Glastenburie* a little Booke

10 of matters touching Antiquitie, gathered by a certaine most

studious Moncke of y^e same Cloyster: who by exercise of

Rethoricall coulour as it were handling an other matter, doth

famously mention of *Arthure* in these wordes. I passe ouer with

silence also to speake of *Arthure* the noble King of *Brittaine*

15 buried with his wife betweene two Pyramedes within the church-

yard of those Monckes, & many princes also of y^e *Brittaines*.

Siluester Giraldus Meneuensis, a chiefe fauourer of Antiquitie in

his booke entituled the Institution of a *Prince*, enobleth *Arthures*

fame with this maner speech.

20 The memorie also of *Arthure* y^e noble king of *Brittaine* ought
not to be buried or viterly troden vnder foote, whom y^e histories
of y^e monastry of *Glastenbury* (whose chiefe patron, [19] bene-
factor and mightie supporter he also was in his dayes) do much
aduance. *Iohannes Anneuillanus* no doubt a wittie *Poet* of his

Siluester
Giraldus his
testimony of
K. Arthure.

25 time, and no lesse elegant, solemnizeth *Arthures* praise in these
verses, which euen at this day appeare in his booke *Architrenio*.

Iohannes
Anneuillanu

Alter *Achilles*

Arthurius, teretis mensæ genitiua venustas,

A *Ramo Phrygius*, dandi non vnda sed æquor.

30 An other *Achilles*

*Arthure was, whose first growne grace, through out his table
rounde*

*Him Phrygius made as of a Branch with fruite which doth
a bound*

35 *For liberall hand, not Riuer he, but a maine sea I found.*

BUT here if ouer & besides this I should endeouour largely, to
adorne *Arthure* with praise as the multitude of Authours do most
truly write and agree vpon him: sooner should copy of eloquence

Trittemius
his testimony.
who was
famouse
Anno. 1484.

faile me, then magnificencie of lightsome testimony howsoever. Be it sufficient then that we vse at this present the most famous commendations, though of fewe writers. I pray you, what is the cause that *Trittemius* in his breefe Crounicle maketh so excellent mention of *Arthure*. Doubtlesse¹ the cause is plaine enough. For by reason he learned the fame of others in plaine trouth, therefore did he as thankfull commit it vnto posteritie: which thing doubtlesse he would neuer haue done, had he doubted of the veritie of the cause.² But now let *Trittemius* him selfe in preface speake.

Trittemius
his wordes
in commen-
dation of king
Arthure.

Which Arthure excelling in great humanitie, wisdome, clemencie and manhood, studied by all endeouour to shew himselfe beloued and reuerenced of all, and to excell all: because also he abounded in valiancie of minde with wonderfull liberalitie towardes all men, and specially towardes Church men, vnto whome for zeale to Godwardes, he gaue very many benefites, yea and also rewardes. He droue out of Brittain both Saxons and Pictes. He mightely subdued, the Scottes, Irishmen, and Orcades vnto his kingdome.

Volateranus.

Volateranus in his third booke of *Geography* honoureth the fame of *Arthure* & diligently celebrateth his valiant actes.

Iacobus
Philippus
Bergomas.

[19 back] Furthermore also *Iacobus Philippus* of *Bergoma* in his 9. booke of *Cronicles*, aduanceth *Arthures* valiancie euen with most condigne commendations.

Naclerus
his testimony.

And neither doth *Naclerus*, in his history make any lesse relation of him. These testimonies doubtlesse (men both most learned & most exercised in Antiquitie would neuer haue set downe) if they had not first beene fully perswaded, that *Arthure* in times past was abundantly notable by all ornamentes of valiancie. But such is the lewdnesse of many men, and their disdainfull minde, that they altogether being seduced with ignorance, (and that in deede very rude) do not manifestly see at full, but blindly neglect, contemne, and altogether reiect the truth. Such Censors or Iudges in auncient histories let them go a Godes name, and let them enioy their foolishnesse at full, I will not say their madnesse. What if I should bring forth amongst the rest, that notable testimony of *Hector Boætius*, a writer in our time, touching y^e immortall glory of *Arthure*?

Hector
Boætius a
Scottish
writer.

¹ Text, *Ddoubtlesse*.

² Text has, instead of.

Surely by this accompt nothing shal fall from his dignitie, but very much shall be added therto for this cause, that y^e *Scots* in old time (I know not by what instinct of nature) hated the *Brittaines* as y^e Prouerbe sayeth. *Odio Valiniano*. Whereupon, Hector Boetius his commendation of K Arthure.
 5 to be prayfed of an aduerfarie, enemie and euen a deadly foe, standeth in place of a rewarde for victory. These are then his words. King Arthure *was no lesse famous in glory for notable exploytes, & for maiestie, then the Kinges of Brittaines, which liued before his dayes: whereupon the Brittaines during his raigne very*
 10 *much encreased in riches & power.*

Thus far faith *Boetius*. What iust occasion with I here to be giuen me of *Polidorus the Italian*, that euen by some memorable testimony of his, I might also aduance *Arthures* countenance, & Polidorus Virgilius a corrupt witnesse of King Arthures worthinesse.
 15 make him looke aloft? He handleth *Arthures* cause in deed, but by the way, he yet is so fainte harted, luke warme & so negligent y^t he makes me not onely to laugh, but also to be angry (as while he is contrary to truth, and filled w^t *Italian* bitternesse) I know not whether he smile or be angry. For he wresteth him selfe wretchedly in the aptnesse of the history, which
 20 yet that he might frame after a fort, he is compelled, will hee [20] nill hee, to come in fauour w^t *Geoffry of Monmouth*: whom before (as it seemed vnto him) he had in many words (proceeding mightely rather of bitter stomacke, then of good digestion) corrected also at his owne controlment. Whom for
 25 y^t as an interpreter I haue once or twise only defended in a cause as no doubt most iust. (A danger in deed great might redound vpon my heade) if I should passe beyond y^e boundes of equity. I will take heede therefore, and trusting onely in y^e veritie of the cause, I will continually beare the same aboute w^t
 30 me for a bulwarcke & sure defence. Though *Polidore* hold his peace it is not needfull by and by for the whole worlde to be mute: And although *Italy* in times past so esteemed of *Arthure*, and yet still doth, when bookes printed both of his prowesse, & victories (as I haue learned) are read in the *Italian* tongue yea in
 35 y^e Spanishe, and also in the *French* tongue: whereupon also the *English* collection of *Thomas Mallerius* his trauaile, is published abroad. The aduerfarie I know will say, that many lyes haue crept into those bookes. Wherefore this is nothing els, but to
Teach him which is fully taught. As I contemne fables, so I

Silueſter
Giraldus in
his Itenerario
touching
Brecknocke.

Cair *Arthure*
or *Arthures*
Caſtle.

K. *Arthures*
Chaire of
State.

Baldwinum
alias Mount-
gomery.

King
Arthures
Gate there.

Gentlemen of
Wales praife
worthie in
praying
their Prince
ſtudiouſly
addicted.

King *Arthure*
ſirnamed
Arthure
the great.

reuerence & imbrace y^e truth of the hiſtory : neyther will I ſuffer
this to be taken away from mee at any time, but with loſſe of
life. Unthankfull perſons I vtterly eſchew and I betake me vnto
thoſe Rockes & monuments, the true witneſſes of *Arthures*
renoume and maieſtie. And in this behalfe, *Silueſter Geraldus* 5
Meneuenſis, entertayneth me comming to him w^t theſe wordes
taken out of that worke of his called *Itenerarium*. He vnder-
ſtandes concluſiueſly that *Brecania* or *Brecknock* rounde about is
the Land ſo called as it were by reaſon of the loſtie blaſtes from
y^e North winde. From *Zephrus* or the Weſterly winde, it hath 10
the mountaine places of *Canter Vehan*, alias y^e leſſe *Vehany*,
from *Auſter* or the ſoutherly winde, it hath hilles ſouthwarde,
whereof the principall is called in the *Brittaine* language *Cair*
Arture : that is to ſay *Arthures Caſtle*, by reaſon of the two 15
toppes of the hilles aſcendinge vpwardes ſhewinge them ſelues in
maner of a Caſtle. And becauſe the Chaire of State is there
erected in a high and harde place it is by a common name
aſſigned vnto [20 back] the high and mightie *Arthure King* of
Brittaine. Theſe ſaith *Silueſter*, *Giraldus*. Now muſt I take
my iourney from the hilles of *Brecania* vnto *Baldwine*, a Towne 20
in olde time famous, which for foure hundreth yeares and more
agone, (of *Roger* then gouernoure of *Mountgomerie*, and Earle
of *Shrowſbury*),¹ was called *Mountgomerie*. Here amongeſt
the ruinous olde Cotages of the walles, is a place by common
reporte knowne, which the remnant of the citizens of later age 25
do call *Arthures gate*. Truly the people of *Wales* haue alwayes
beene and as yet are with a certaine Gentlemanly feruent affec-
tion bent to ſet forth the praifes of their *Princes*. Through
which title euen at this day ſhyneth forth the ſame together alſo
with the commendation not vulgar of *Arthure* ſirnamed the 30
greate : who is alſo called in the *Brittaine* language *Arthure*
Vaur. *Maur* In the Brittiſh tongue ſignifieth great : but the
fond pronounciation of the welch tongue (in the worde *Copulatiue*
Maure) turneth M. into V. Like as alſo in other wordes by
reaſon of their proper tearming, B. is oftentimes turned into V. 35

¹ Text lacks).

Cap. xi.

The Antiquitie of *Aualonia*.

THE circumstance of speach, here admonisheth me that I expresse somewhat touching *Arthures* buriall; whereof as I haue made sufficient mention, so iudge I it specially (for the lightfome
 5 order) conuenient that I should first with exquisite diligence consecrate vnto posteritie the Antiquitie of that place, whither vnto the deade corpes was caried. *Aual* in the Brittish tongue signifieth *Malum*, (or as I may with a more common phraise interpret it) *Pomum*, an Aple: and *Aualon* signifieth *Pomarium*, or
 10 Orcharde. By reason whereof also, of *Merlinus Caledonius*, (as *Geoffrey Arthurius* of *Monmouth* interpreteth the same) it is called the Isle of Apples, in these wordes.

Diffinition of
Aualonia the
 place where
 King Arthure
 was buried.
 Geoffry of
 Monmouth
 his testimony
 thereof.

Infula pomorum quæ fortunata vocatur,

Ex re nomen habet, quia per se fingula profert.

[21]

15 Non opus est illi fulcantibus arua colonis:

Omnis abest cultus nisi quem natura ministrat.

Vltro fecundas segetes producit & Vuas:

Nataque poma suis, prætonso germine syluis.

The Isle of Apples, which called is fortunate,

20 *Of effect hath name, for it bringes forth all thinges:*

The seeded ground no neede of Plowmen hath,

All tillage wantes, saue that which Nature bringes.

Of it owne accorde it beares both Grapes & Corne,

And apples grow in woods, first grafts being pruned & shorne.

25 *MEL*chinus the *Brittaine* makes mention of *Aualonia* and of *Melchinus*. the religious place there. *Siluester Giraldu*s in his booke *De Siluester*,
Institutione Principis, thus speaketh. And y^e island which at *Giraldu*s &
 this day is called *Glastenbury*, was called in auncient time
Aualonia: For it is an *Islande* altogether environed with moorish
 30 or fenny groundes: Whereupon in the Brittish tongue it is called
Aualon, that is, an *Island* fruitefull of apples: For with apples
 (which in the Brittish tongue are called *Aual*) this place aboundeth.

Patricius,
all 3. wit-
nesses of
Avalonia.

Patricius the Apostle or teacher amongst the *Irishmen* in a certaine Epistle makes mention of this place, but by another name, whose wordes also I will hereunto annex.

Alias
Ciuitas,
vitrina, nunc
Glastenbury.
Supposed
rather to be
Faganus &
Diruuianus,
vt ante.

I haue conuerted Ireland vnto the way of truth, and when I had grounded them in the christian faith, I returned at length into Brittain, & as I beleue (by the guidance of God, who is the way and the life) I chaunced into the Island Iniswitrine, wherein I found a holy and auncient place chosen of God, and consecrated vnto the Virgin Mary, and there also founde I certaine Brethren instructed with the rudiments of the Christian faith, which succeeded the Disciples of Fugatius and Damianus.

Thus farre sayth *Patricius*: who in that place of his epistle also recyteth the names of twelue religious persons: where of two were noble personages: Of all which twelue, he had chiefe Rule, as by these wordes it is manifest.

15

So they preferred me (though against my will) before [21 back] themselves.

Faganus and
Diruuianus.

And againe, in the same Epistle the brethren shewed me writings of those holy men *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, wherein was conteyned that the twelue Disciples of *S. Philip* and *Iacob* the Apostles had founded and erected that auncient Church: and that three Pagan kinges had giuen so many possessions of land vnto those twelue.

Vt ante dixi.
Faganus &
Diruuianus.

And last of al how that *Fugatius* & *Damianus* had builded a chappell on a high hill, not farre from *Aualonia* in the honor of *God* and *S. Michael*. Heere is enough at this present (euen touch and goe) to haue vnderstanding of the reuerend father *Patricius* his Epistle.

W. of Malmes-
burie his
testimony.

Gulielmus Meildunensis, in his booke of the antiquitie of the religious house at *Glastenburie*, and in his first booke of kinges vnto *Henrie Blesensis* otherwise *Soliaensis* Bishop of *Venta Simenorum* or *Winchester*, writeth not vnlike matters. Wherupon also by good coniecture it may bee seene that this *William*, tooke his translations out of the Epistle of *Patricius*. *Siluester Giraldus* in his booke *De Institutione Principis*, not inconueniently explaneth the *Etymon* or true interpretation of the name. It was also in times past called in the brittish language *Iniswitrine*: by y^e which word the *Saxones* which came thether afterwarde called that place *Glastenbury*. For *Gles* in their tongue

Siluester
Giraldus his
testimony and
explanation of
Glastenburie.

signifieth *Vitrum* or glasse, and *Bury* signifieth *Castrum* or Castle, and is called together the city of *Glastenburie*. These doth he affirme. Truly vnto me this seemeth to bee a foule faulte in writers of bookes that they heere do recite *Byry* for
 5 *burg* or *berg*: *Byry* in the Saxon tongue is in Latine *Curia*: As for example, *Aldermanburie*, that is to say *Seniorum Curia*. Also *Littlebyry*, that is *Parua Curia*. *Canonbyry* commonly called *Canbyry*. *Burg* otherwise *Borow*, signifieth a hill, and high places of earth cast vp. Finally *Berg* is in the Latine
 10 tongue called *Castrum*: by reason wherof I more truly beleeeue we must reade *Berg* or *Burg*, for a Castle: which worde *Giraldus* vseth or maketh it to serue for a Towne: although as I may freely confesse, I find the name written diuerfly amongst the ancients viz. *Gleffenbyry* *Glestonbury* and *Gleffenburg*. And
 15 there are which pronounce *Glas* for *Gles*: Although [22] *Gles* is more perfect and more Auncient, as by the name of the Islandes of *Glastenburie* it appeareth plainly.

Chap. xii.

K. Arthures Buriall.

NEither can I, nor wil I publish for trueth, whether *Arthure*
 20 dyed out right in the battle fought at *Alaune*, which is commonly called *Camblan*, or at *Aualonia*, while his wounds were in healing. The writers of *Brittaine* with one voyce holde argument, that he dyed at *Aualonia*, through grieve of the same woundes: But touching the place of his buriall, they doe all
 25 agree as one.

Writers of
 brittaine
 affirming
 where
 Arthure died.

This one thing dare I be bolde to affirme, the *Brittanes* were so forowfull for the death of their Soueraigne Lorde, that they endeouored by all meanes to make the same famous, and to leaue the name of their Gouvernour euen for euer fearefull and to
 30 bee trembled at amongst the *Saxones*: So farre forth as they with a certaine plaufible and straunge inuention did spreade abroad Rumors both of his comming againe, and of his ruling againe. Touching the againe comming (of *Arthure* so wounded to death) into *Aualonia* aforesaid, certaine Brittaines did blindly

The Brit-
 taines forow-
 full for the
 death of
 K. Arthure.

Merlinus
Caledonius
a writer his
verses of
K. Arthures
death.

write. But none more at large nor more lightsome, then *Merlinus Caledonius* being instructed (as some men suppose) of *Theliesinus* the *Poet*: whose verses also I will heere annex, selected out of his little booke of prophecy, *Geoffrey Arthurius* beeing interpreter thereof.

5

Illuc post Bellum *Camblani* vulnere læsum,
Duximus *Arthurum*, nos conducente *Barincho*.
Æquora cui fuerant, & cœli Sidera nota.

Hoc Rectore ratis, cum Principe venimus illuc,
Et nos quo decuit *Morgan* suscepit honore,
Inque suis thalamis posuit super aurea Regem
Fulcra, manuque sibi detexit vulnus honesta,
Inspexitque diu: tandem redire salutem,

10

[22 back]

Posse sibi dixit, si secum tempore longo
Effet, & ipsius vellet Medicamina fungi.
Gaudentes igitur, Regem commissimus illi,
Et dedimus ventis redeundo vela secundis.

15

The English.

Thether after the battle was at Camblan fiercely fought,
Barinchus so conducting vs) we Arthure wounded brought. 20
Who knew the seas, & of the stars the Clymats perfectly,
By this guider of the helme with Prince we thether ply.
And Morgan vs receiued as it behoued with honor dewe,
In Chamber his on Golden hearse, and laide the king to view.
And with his friendly hand forthwith did Arthures wound 25
vnhill,

Morgan a
faithfull friend
and true
subiect vnto
Arthure.

Long looking thereon, said, may be life come againe yet will.
If he along time were with him, & would his medicines vse,
Therefore with ioy the King to him we did betake to chuse,
And hoist our sailes with prosperous wind: by our returne 30
our porte to finde.

Morgans wife
made prou-
ision for
Arthures
buriall.

Syluester Gyraldus writeth in his *Speculo Ecclesiastico*, that *Morgans* noble wife made prouision for *Arthures* buriall. And againe, in his booke *De Institutione Principis* he makes relation of these thinges. Whereupon also the noble wife of *Morgan*, and 35
Gouverneffe of those partes againe as *Patroneffe* there and also neare of blood vnto *Arthure*, after the battle at *Kemelen* caused

him to be conueyed into an Isle (which now is called *Glasconia*) to cure and heale vp his woundes.

The interpreter of the British history, writeth of the death of *Arthure*, on this manner, as in his sixt booke appeareth.
 5 *Arthure being wounded vnto death at the battle at Camblan went vnto Aualonia, his kingdome being left vnto Constantine the sonne of Cadorius Duke of Cornwale.*

Brittanica
Historiæ
Interpres
testimonium
dat de morte
Arthuri.

Iohannes Burgenfis Abbot, in his *Annales* hath left these wordes in credible writings. When *Arthure* was at the pointe of
 10 death, he kept him selfe secret, that his enemies should not insult at such and so great a mishap, nor his friends be discomforted as troubled in minde. Thus far he.

Iohannes
Burgenfis
testimonium
de eodem.

Now must wee speake of the reli[gi]ous place at *Aualonia*, wherein *Arthure* was buried.

15 [23] *Melchinus* specially makes mention of this and also of *Arthure* buried there.

Gulielmus a Medulphi curia both els where, and specially in his booke *De antiquitate Gleffonburgenfi*, religiously celebrateth this place where *Arthure* was buried.

Aualonia
commended
by 3. writers.
viz. Melchi-
nus, & Malm-
sbury
Giraldus.

20 The same thing doth *Giraldus Meneuensis* also in his *Speculo Ecclesiastico*, and in his booke *De Institutione Principis*, religiouse houses were not at that time so common, and in so many places of *Brittaine*, as they be in these dayes.

Saxons of noble lineage, a people without knowledge of God
 25 if happely being sicke they dyed at home, were buried in pleasant gardens: if they were slaine abroade, and in battell, they were then buried in graues digged out of the earth, which they called *Burghs*, neare vnto their tentes: but the base common people were buried euen in medowes and open fieldes.

30 There was at that time a religiouse place neare vnto the olde Church, in very greate estimation. By which title and of the whole nobilitie in all the west Prouinces of *Brittaine*, it was chofen as a place allotted for their burials. The same was afterwarde often done by such *Saxons* as had the knowledge
 35 of God. As at *Douer* of the *Kentishmen*, at *Yorke* of the *Brygantes*, at *Lindiffarna* or *Lyland* and so forth in other places. Concerning the place of his buriall it is now sufficient manifest.

It remayneth that I make declaration of the ceremony and
 manner of his buriall. There was present (but secretly)

Ceremonies
used at King

Arthure his
buriall.

Morgans
noble wife
alone pro-
vided for
Kinge
Arthures
buriall.

How he was
interred in
the earth.

Monumentes
of him.

This was
fet vp in

a Troupe of Noble personages which mourned for y^e death of their foueraigne Lord bereft from them by such sinifter fate. The wife of *Morgan* alone provided for the buriall thinges needfull: a woman doubtlesse of incomperable godlinesse, who performed all ceremonies and seruices with greefe of minde, and floudes of teares. The manner in those dayes was to bury in the graues, and to lay them as a surceasing from sorrow to the vse of Tombes or sepulchres great boules or bodyes of Alder trees, whereof the places about *Aualonia* neare adioyning were most fruitfull. For the Alder tree hath I know not what 10 propertie with the naturall [23 back] moyst ground, such as is a Churchyarde: so farre forth as the substance thereof laide on this sorte, more deepe in the Earth, should be reputed for euerlasting not onely. The body of *Arthure* thus bewailed and mourned for, was buried in a graue of sufficient depth, with the 15 greate boale of Alder tree therein laide hollow. And because he liued most magnificent in fame, factes, and rule of his kingdome (they folowing diligently the custome and integritie of *Christians* in this poynt) bestowed vpon the Tombe of *Arthure* so buried, a toaken of perpetuall memory namely a *Crosse*, signyfyinge 20 *Mnemofynen vitæ perpetuæ*: that is to say, the remembrance of life euerlasting. It was made of a leaden plate, one foote long more or lesse, which I haue beholden with most curiouse eyes, and handled with feareful ioyntes in each part, being moued both with the Antiquitie and worthinesse of the thing. It con- 25 teyneth vpon it these wordes in those not so greate Romane letters, but indifferent cunningly grauen, viz.

HIC IACET SEPULTVS INCLITVS REX
ARTHVRIVS, IN INSVLA AVALONIAE.

But here peraduenture some curiouse person would search out 30 for what purpose the inscription was commended to our memory vpon the leaden plates. It was a most vsual manner in that age, and endured euen vntill latter times to bestow vpon Noble mens Tombes leaden plates engrauen. Of which not a few haue I seene in euery place throughout all *Brittaine*. Leade of his 35 nature is easilie engrauen, and when it is once grauen continueth both a very long time, and also most firmly, as witneseth experience. The myne hilles where leade groweth much, are scarce

five miles distant from *Aualonia*. The *Romans* as *Lordes* of places where
riches, were not ashamed to set up a standard of stone vnto enemies were
Claudius Cæsar by a very long table of leade, almost in the very vanquished
bottomes of those hilles at the heade springes of the fabulus by the
Emperour.
5 little floude *Ochides* within the iurisdiction of *Fontanus* the
Bishoppe, engrauen on this manner

TI. CLAVDIO CÆSARI. AVGVST. P.M.

TR. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE BRITAN.

This [24] Standard of Stone a few yeares past was turned vp out In tempore
10 of the earth by the plowe, and translated vnto the house of regni Henrici
Thomas Howarde, Duke of *Northfolke* at *London*.
Reg. 3.

Cap. xiii.

The two *Pyrameds* in that religious place.

Within the burying place which was consecrated at *Aualonia* Within the
stand two *Pyramedes* of most auncient buylding, bearing a shew burying place
15 of figures & letters, but the windes, stormes, and time which were set vp
confumeth all things, finally enuy of man from time to time
haue so defaced the notable figures and inscription of auncient
workes, that they can scarce be discerned by any neuer so sharpe
fight of the eye. The continuall trauell of writers commendeth Auncient
20 these, and specially the diligence of *Gulielmus Meildunensis* that writers
greate *Antiquary*: whom also *Siluester Geraldus* euen he a louer commending
of Antiquities, doth follow at an inch. Doubtlesse both of them the same.
handle their matters learnedly: The one whereas by exquisite
labour he restored to light a fresh, both titles and figures which
25 were not altogether raced out of knowledge for foure hundreth
yeares before, according as in his famousse and elegant little
booke *De Antiquitate Glessoburgensi*, appeareth. The other in
that he leaning vnto sounde argumentes and relation of auncient
writers, proueth that *Arthures* Tombe was in times past eyther
30 erected betwene the two *Pyrameds*, or in a place not far distant King Arthures
from them. Of *Giraldus* we wil say more in the Tombe of Tombe where
Arthure found. it was erected.

In the meane time, I wil herevnto annex the discription of the
Pyrameds, artificially purtrayed out by the very pencilles of the

The meaning
and descrip-
tion of those
two Pyra-
medes.

Tabulatus.

Note the
blindnesse of
that time in
preferring
a Bishop
before a king.

same *Gulielmus*, as it were in a plaine table to the eyes of the beholders. And where as that no doubt is vnkowne vnto all men, I would willingly publish it, (if I could possibly expresse the truth) what those *Pyrameds* do meane, which being erected in a litle space from the olde Church do after a forte include 5 the Churchyarde of those religiouse persons.

[24 back] Undoubtedly the more statelier, larger, and nearer *Pyramed* vnto the Church hath fyue storyes height or floores boarded, & is in height, 26. foote. Thus although it foresheved some decay by reason of y^e too much oldnesse, yet hath it a few 10 apparant spectacles of Antiquitie, which may be plainly reade, although they can not fully be vnderstode. For in the vpper story or floore boorde is made an image in likenesse of a Bishoppe. In the second is an Image expressing a Kingly state, and letters: *Her. Sex. & Bliswerh.* In the third neuerthelesse are names. 15 *Wem Creste, Bantomp, Winewegn.* In the fourth. *Hate, Wulfredi & Franfled.* In the fift, and which is the lowest, an image and this writing. *Logwor. Wellielas & Bregdene. Swellwes, Huyrgendes berne.* But the other *Pyramed* hath 18. foote height and foure storyes or floores boarded wherein 20 these wordes are reade, *Hedde, Episcopus & Bregorred & Beorwalde.* What these may signifie I do not rashly define: but I gather by suspition, that within or about the same place are laide in hollow stones the bones of them whose names are reade on the outside. Surele *Logwor* for certaine is affirmed to be the 25 person by reason of whose name *Logweres Beorh*, was so called, which is now called *Montacute.* *Beor walde* neuerthelesse was Abbot after *Hemgiselus.* These saith *Meildunensis* (vnto whom the learned ought to referre these *Pyrameds*) as from him by all meanes borrowed, and most famously set forth. Now y^e lady 30 *Guenhera* offereth herselfe to be ioyned wth *Ar[t]hure* her Husband.

Cap. xiiii.

What manner Person *Guenhera* was.

I Haue easely beleueed, that *Guenhera* was descended out of the progeny of the Dukes of *Cornwale*: both leaninge vnto 35 other argumentes, and also for this cause specially, that the History

of *Brittaine* makes mention y^t she was brought vp in y^e *Pallas* of *Cadorus* Duke of *Cornwale*, & also from hence taken vnto wife by *Arthure*. The coniecture is, and that not altogether vncertaine this name of *Guenhera* foundeth in the *British* language
 5 the same that *Bella Dona* [25] doth in the Italian & in french. *Belle Dame*, no doubt the name was giuen for some fame: as *Guenllea*, that is *White* or *sayre Leonora*, or of coniecture *Helena*: so as y^e worde *White* may signifie faire, beautifull, or amiable. But as it is sufficiently apparant y^t she was beautifull,
 10 so it is a thing doubted, whether she was chaste yea or no. Truly so far as I can with honestie I would spare the impayred honor and fame of noble women: But yet the truth of y^e historie pluckes me by the eare, & willet not onely, but commandeth me to declare what the Ancients haue deemed of
 15 her. To wrestle or contend with so greate authoritie were in deede vnto me a controuerfie and that greate. The historie of *Brittaine* affirmeth, that she had not onely carnall knowledge of *Mordred* the *Pict*, but also that she was ioyned to him in mariage.
 O mischiefe, O lewd life, O filthy dayes.

20 The writer of the historie of *Gildas* is in deede an Auncient Author, (but in mine exemplar that same *Anonymus*) declareth these things of *Guenhera* the aduultresse.

Arthure in despite of *Melua* the ruler, befeeged the fenny countries neare vnto *Glesconia*: which noble man had defiled
 25 *Guenhera* being stolne away and carried thether. This testimonie as touching a Queene, though hee say she was stolne away, is scarce honourable. Women of such beauty are now and then stolne away by their owne good will. How soeuer it was, most assured is this, that she liued no long time after the Death
 30 of her Husband, and the Adulterer. But whether through any disease of the bodie, or with vnfayned sorrowe she dyed (which I doe sooner beleue) it appeareth not playnely. Writers make mention, that she beeing mooued with repentance did put vpon her a holy *Veyle* at *Ambrosia*, and that there she dyed
 35 and was also buried, vntill both the dilligence and also Godlineffe of *Sir Lancelot* the most courteous and most unincible knight had translated the bones and ashes afterwarde vnto *Aualonia*. Heere aryseth a doubt against the suspition of this Adulterie.

Where the Lady *Guenhera* was brought vp.

Her description.

Beautie & Chastitie seldom agree inuolably.

A writers testimonie touching *Guenhera*.

Sir Lancelot, knight, a friend of *Guenhera*s after her death.

Whether so notable a Louer or friend of *Arthure*, and the same a reuerencer of his royaltie had committed such a fact that hee woulde burie the Adulteresse in the most Religiouse [25 back] place so neare her husbands graue in the earth. The history of the cloister at *Glastenbury* which was dilligently collected, fully 5 sheweth that *Guenhera* was buried in the religious place neare her husbandes Tombe, and that her bones and ashes were found the same time that her husbandes were.

Nota.
where she
was buried.

Siluester Giraldu Meneuensis confirmeth this in his booke *De Institutione Principis* speaking of *Arthure* in these wordes. 10

Siluester
Giraldu
his testimony
both of
Arthure and
of *Guenhera*'s dead
corpses.

For hee had two wiues, whereof in deede the last was buried with him, and her bones founde at one time with her husbandes bones, so yet separated that the two parts of the graue towards the head, namely (which should containe the bones of her husband) had beene ascribed vnto him: But the third part at the feete contained 15 the bones of a woman vpwardes. Where as also a yeallow Locke of a womans haire, with the former integrity & coulour was found, which as a certaine Moncke desirously caught vp in his hand & lifted it vp, it altogether streightway perished into dust or powder. 20

The same *Giraldus* recyteth such like matters in his booke intituled *Speculo Ecclesiastico*: Hee doubtlesse might well with some authority speake concerning this geare, for so much as, euen then he (beeing established in the fauour of *K. Richard coeur de Lion*, king of England) came the very same time that 25 the Sepulchre was found at *Glastenbury*, and as an eye witnes (by conduction of *Henry de Soliaco* nephew vnto *K. Henry* by *Adela* and cosen germaine of *K. Richard* beeing the president of *Glastenburie*, but afterwarde Bishop of *Winchester*) learned full and whole all thinges which vnto *Arthure* appertained. 30

De Soliaco.

Yet notwithstanding, if it were lawfull for me heere to speake all thinges which I thinke, I would surely affirme that those thinges are of farre better credite, which are deliuered vs of *Arthures* buryall, then of *Guenheras*. And yet woulde I not doe any iniurie vnto the Authority of Auncient wryters, that euen 35 the posteritie in time to come myght not handle mine Authority or allegation in a worse manner. At *Glastenbury* vppon the Tombe of [26] *Lydias Marble* or *Touchstone* Artificially engrauen (and erected for *Arthure* and also for *Guenhera*) these

Arthures and
Guenheras
Tombe
erected at
Glastenbury.

two little verses, fauoring of that his time, are written in this manner.

Hic iacet *Arturi* coniux tumulata secunda,
Quae meruit cœlos, Virtutum prole fœcunda.

Her Epitaph.

5 *The second wife of Arthure heere, entomed to doth ly,
Who for the fruites of Vertuous life deserued the heauens on hye.*

There bee which say that *Henry Suynesius* Abbot of *Glastenbury* was the composer of these verses: Except any man thinke that *Henry Blesensis* alias *Soliacensis* chaunged his name into
10 *Suynesius*, in whose time the bones and ashes both of *Arthure* and also of *Guenhera* were founde.

But what *Giraldus & Henricus* doe meane by the name of *Second wife*, truly I doe not sufficiently vnderstand. For so much (as I can remember) I haue neither hard of the name nor
15 memorie of a second wife untill this day.

But let credite remaine with Authors: by the latter part of the second litle verse (*Virtutum prole fœcunda*) it appeareth y^t *Guenhera* was more vertuous then apt to beare children. Neither am I ignorant what *Boetius* writeth here, that in times past there
20 was a sharp battle fought betweene *Arthure* and *Mordred*, at the riuer of *Humber*, and y^t *Guenhera* being euen there caried away
of y^e Picts, into their tents, afterwards died and was buried at *Horestia* in the streete *Angusia*. But I leaue *Hector* to the
reporte of *Veremundus & Turgotus* those obscure writers. And
25 it might so bee, that the Tombe was there erected for another *Guenhera* not Queene.

Nota.
How Guenhera was stolne away of the Pictes.

Chap. xv.

K. Arthures Tombe found.

When the *Saxones* powre grewe to some force after *Arthures* death, & that the *Picts & Scots* by and by were put to flight,
30 & chafed away beyond the vale of *Seuerne*, [26 back] The same *Saxones* began not so much to feare, and much lesse to esteeme of, but rather openly to fet at nought the remnauntes of those vanquished *Brittaines*. Wherefore, the glory of them beganne to floorish, but of the *Brittaines* to decrease and fade away:
35 Yet so, as the *Saxones* left almost nothing (touching affaires

After Arthures death, the Saxons florished, but the Brittaines perished.

Saxones were negligent in

the fame of
Britones their
posteritie.

passed betweene them and the *Brittaines*) at that time perfectly written for the posteritie.

Iohn Stowe.

Bardi were
such as sung
to the harpe
the famo[u]s¹
factes of
noble per-
sonages.

For, those things which were written (after *Christ* was knowne vnto them) concerning the first victories of the Saxones, are deliuered by the reportes of the common people, & so receiued, 5 and in writings so committed: or els the *Brittaines* being vtterly worne away by so many battles, bestowed scarce any iust or right dilligence in writing of the historie. Only there are extant certaine fragments of *Gildas* the Moncke of the City *Bangor* rather slaying alieue, dismembbring, and wounding to death 10 the *Brittaines*, then allowing them with any value of vertue, so farre forth as he seemeth a Rethorician thorowly moued to make euyll reporte. By this meanes were the affaires of *Brittaine*, through calamitie of battles left obscure or vnreueyld. The 15 historicall fingers only studied to preferue also with musicall means the famous memorie of Nobles in those daies. They sung the famous factes of noble personages vpon the harp. This studie or practife wonderfully profited knowledge, as it were deliuered by hand vnto posterity. Whereupon in deede it so commeth heere to passe also, that the name, fame, and glory of 20 *Arthure* might so be preferued after a forte.

O factum bene.

Si quid mea Carmina possunt,
Aonio statuam sublimes vertice Bardos.
Bardos Pieridum cultores, atque canentis, 25
Phœbi delitias, quibus est data cura perennis,
Dicere nobilium clarissima facta virorum
Aureaque excelsam famam super astra locare.

The English.

O well done.

If anything my verses may auayle,

These statelie fingers then aduance Will I, [27]
That high Parnassus mount for to assaile.

As fingers honouring the *Muses* friendes duly,
And *Phoebus* his delightes singing sweetly. 35

The famous actes of noble men to blase,
And statelie fame I'th golden heauens to place.

¹ Text, *famons*.

William A Norman had conquered the Nation of Englishmen by permission of God, and now came the kingdome of *England*, vnto *Henry* the second of that name, Nephew by *Matildes* the daughter of *Henry Beaclerke*, and the Sonne of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Duke of *Gaunt*. This man endeoring by all meanes to enlarge the limittes of his kingdome, applyed also his minde vnto the kingdome of *Ireland*. *Richard of Clare* Erle of *Chepstowe*, (so called by reason of the wanderinge Riuer) a man both most noble by birth, fortune, and vertue, went into *Ireland*, beeing before requested of *Deronutius* the ruler of *Lagenia*, so to do: in which expedition hee behaued him selfe so valiantly, that (they being cast out by heapes put to flight, and vanquished which withstood the Ruler) he purchased him selfe fame an[d] immortall glory and (if this also might anything auaile to the purpose) he obtayned besides greate riches vnto himselfe thereby, taking to wife *Eua* the daughter of *Deronicius*, and heire by right nough. *King Henry* had vnderstanding of the succeffe of *Richard* the Erle of *Chepstowe*, and whether he enuyed his glory, or (which is most like) that hee earnestly fought the pray of this rich kingdome, hee forbad this *Richard* in the meane time to beare rule in *Ireland*, not disdayning yet to proffer him reward. He being wise, fully knowing the *Princes* purpose, gaue place vnto his right. In the meane season *Henry* hauing prepared no small part of an Hoast, came into *Cambria* or *Wales*, and purposing there to appoynt the residue, he thence straight sayled from *Meneuia* or *Sanct Davids* into *Ireland*, with hope of which kingdome to obtaine, hee burned as hote as fire. Whiles he busieth him selfe here aboutes being (for his worthinesse as befitted) receyued of the *Gouernoures* of *Wales*, at his banquettes there (vsing [27 back] an Interpreter) he gaue eare not with out pleasure vnto the historicall singers, which singe to the Harpe famous actes of noble men. Truly there was one amongst the rest most skilfull in knowledge of Antiquitie. He so sung the praises and noble actes of *Arthure* comparing *Henry* with him as Conquerour in time to come for many respectes, that hee both wonderfully pleased, & also delighted the *Kinges* eares: at what time also y^e King learned this thing especially of the historical singer, that *Arthure* was

Anno. 1067.
a Christo
nato.

1154. Regni.
Anno. 1.

1154. Regni.
Anno. 1.

Giraldus.
Cambrensis
calletth him
Richard
Strongbowe
Earle of
Chipstow.
Iohn stow.

1157. Regni.
Anno. 3.

Iohn stow.

King Henry
the second
for his
valiancy com-
pared to K.
Arthure and

was inquisi-
tue after his
monument.

King Arthures
Tombe found.
Anno Ric.
Regis. 1.

Siluefter
Giraldus
Malmsbury.

The place
where King
Arthure his
Tombe was
found at that
time, and
the manner
therof.

buried at *Aualonia* in the religiouse place. Whereupon sending away the faide finger as witnesse of such a monument most liberally rewarded, he had conference with *Henricus Blesensis*, alias *Soliacensis* his nephew, who euen then or a litle after was made of an Abbot in the Ile of *Bermundsege*, cheife 5 Magistrate ouer *Glastenbury* that he might with most exquisite diligence search out thorowly the Tombe or burying place of *Arthure* within the compasse of that religiouse house. It was assayed by him otherwhiles and at length founde out with greate difficulty, in the last dayes, as some suppose of *Henry* 10 the second, King of *England*: but as others thinke (vnto whom I easely assent) in the beginning of the raigne of *Richard* the first, his Sonne.

Touching both this searching for, and finding out of the bones, two persons specially amongst others haue written their 15 mindes: of which two one was a Moncke of *Glastenbury*, and by name vnknowne to me, but the other was *Siluefter Giraldus*. Furdermore there had beene hereunto added also *Gulielmus Meildunensis*, as the third witnesse to be conferred with them both, but that death had taken him away in his aged yeares 20 before the Sepulcre or Tombe was found. The testimonies of these men will I vse especially, and at this instant I will bring hether the wordes of *Anonymus* the Moncke. *King Arthure* was entombed, like as (by *K. Henry* y^e second) *Henry* y^e Abbot had learned, whose cofen germaine & familier friend he of late 25 was. But y^e King had often times heard this out of the actes of the *Brittaines*, & of their historicall fingers, that *Arthure* was buried neare vnto the old Church in the religiouse place betweene two [28] *Pyramedes* in times past, nobly engrauen, and erected as it is reported for the memory of him. 30

And King *Arthure* was buryed verie deeply for feare of the *Saxons*, whom he had often times vanquished, & whome he had altogether reiected or cast out of the Ile of *Brittaine*. And whome *Mordred* his mischeeuous Nephew had first called backe againe and brought thither against him: least they (should also 35 with mallice of minde raige in crueltie towards the deade body) which had laboured by tooth & naile euen now to possesse againe the whole Island after his death. Againe for and in respect of the same feare, he was laide in a certaine broade stone, (as it

were at a graue) found of them which digged there, of seauen
foote as it were vnder ye earth: when yet notwithstanding
Arthures Tombe was founde more lower, of nyne foote depth.
There was moreouer founde a leaden crosse not set into the
5 vppermost but rather neathermost parte of the stone, hauing
thereon these letters engrauen.

HIC IACET SEPULTVS INCLITVS REX
ARTHVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIE.

Nota
His inscrip-
tion & the
fubtile deuise
of the Work-
men in those
dayes.

And the Crosse taken out of the stone, (the saide Abbot *Henry*
10 shewing the same) we haue seene with our eyes, and haue reade
these letters. But like as the Crosse was infixed to the neather-
most parte of the stone: So that parte of the crosse engrauen (to
the ende it might be more secrete) was turned towardes the stone.
Doubtlesse a wonderfull industrie and exquisite wifdome of the
15 men in that age, who by all endeouours desired to hide in secret
manner the body of so greate a perfonage, and their Soueraigne
Lord, especially the *Patrone* of that place, by reason of the
instant troubled state: And who yet had further care that at one
or other time afterwardes (when the trouble surceased, by the
20 perfect order of those letters engrauen in the Crosse and found
out other whiles) they might make apparant testimonies of his
buriall.

And as the foresaide King *Henry* had before declared all the
matter to the Abbot: so the body of *Arthure* was found not in
25 a marble Tombe (as it befitted so notable a Kinge) [28 back] not
in a stony place, or grauen out of the white *Paris* stone, but
rather in a wodden Tombe made hollow for this purpose, and of
sixtene foote deepe in the earth, more for the hastie then the
honourable burying of so puyssant a *Prince*, that time of trouble
30 requyring the same.

King Arthure
buried in a
wodden
Tombe of
16. foote
deepe.

Anno Domini. 1189. The *King* besetting the place, with
Caldrons, on a certaine day, commanded them to digge there.
Herehence the Deluers hauing searched an exceeding depth, &
now almost being past hope, beholde yet they found out a
35 wodden Tombe of a wonderfull greatnesse fast clofed rounde
about. Which being lift vp, and opened, they found therein
the Kinges bones of an incredible bignesse, so as the bone of his
shinne, might reach from the ground vnto the middle of the

An. 1.
Ricardo
Regis. prmi.

King Arthures
Tombe found
where as also
the Queene

was with him legge in a tall man. They also found a leaden crosse on the laide. other side. Thus engrauen.

HIC IACET SEPULTVS INCLITVS
REX ARTHVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIAE.

Herehence they opening the Tombe of the Queene buried 5
with *Arthure* founde a yealow locke of womans heaire, both
faire of it selfe, and also twisted together with wonderful
curiositie: which when they had touched, mouldred away too
nothing. Then the Abbot and his conuent, taking vp their
Lyneaments translated the same with ioy into the greater 10
Church, placing them in a new Tombe (nobly engrauen and
pullished in the inwarde partes) after a twofold fashon: That is
to say, the Kinges body by it selfe at the heade of the Tombe:
The *Queene*, at the feete of him, namely in the Easte parte:
where, vntill this day present, they honourably take their rest. 15
But this Epitaph is engrauen vpon their Tombe.

Their transla-
tion vnto
another place.

King Arthures
old Epitaph.

Hic iacet *Arthurius* flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem, mores, probitas, commendant laude perenni.

*Here lyeth Arthure the floure of kinges, & glory of his king-
dome,
Whome life and honestie commende with lasting praise to come.* 20

THus farre most diligently, and also most faithfully haue we
conuerted these things out of 3^o booke at *Glastenbury* into this
present vse. But because the Epitaph seemeth vnto me to sound
out I knowe not what after the manner [29] of a harsh grating 25
instrument, and to draw with it the faulte of that age scarce
eloquent, as also finally to be more brieue & base then might
seeme conuenient for so mightie a Monarcke, wee haue dedicated
another therefore (in commendation of him) vnto the Sacred
memorie and posteritie of the learned, viz. 30

Iohannis Ley-
landij Anti-
quarij Enco-
mion funerales
In vitam,
facta mor-
temque, Regis
Arthuri
Inclitissimi.

Saxonicas toties qui fudit marte cruento
Turmas, & peperit spolijs sibi nomen opimis.
Fulmineo toties *Pictos* qui contudit ense,
Imposuitque Iugum *Scotti* ceruicibus ingens.
Qui tumidos *Gallos*, *Germanos* quique feroces
Perculit, & *Dacos* bello confregit aperto: 35

- Denique *Mordredum* è medio qui sustulit illud
 Monstrum, horrendum ingens, dirum seuumque *Tyrannum*,
 Hoc iacet extinctus monumento *Arturius* alto,
 Militiæ clarum Decus, & Virtutis Alumnus :
 5 Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,
 Ætherique petit sublimia tecta tonantis,
 Vos igitur gentis proles generosa *Britannæ*
 Induperatori ter magno assurgite vestro :
 Et tumulo sacro *Roseas* inferte *Corollas*,
 10 Officij testes redolentia munera vestri.

The English.

- He that so oft the Saxons troupes, in bloody fight did foile,*
And got him fame by noble facts, with manie a full rich spoile,
He that with fierie flashing sworde, so oft the Picts destroide,
 15 *And laid a yoake vpon the Scots, their necks which greatly*
noid.
He that did daunt the lofty French, & Germanes fierce did
smile
With open war the Dacians, & their force did vanquish quite.
 20 *He last[ly]¹ which bereft of life Mordred that Monster thoe,*
Both horrible mightie, Dyre, and cruell tyrant foe:
Arthure (euen he) lieth buried in this lostie monument,
Of warlike force the garland braue, & friend to Vertue bent.
Whose glorie now & greate renoume, stieih all the world about,
 25 *And mounts vnto the climates hie of thundering skies throughout.*
Ye Gentlemanlie Offspring then of Brittaines nation braue,
Towards this so puissant Emperour, due Honor see you haue.
And on his Tombe gay garlands lay of Roses fragrant smell,
Sweete sauoring giftes as witnesses, your duties forth to tell.

[29 back]

- 30 NOW in fit time comes forth *Siluester Giraldus*, that same
 eye witnesse of *Arthures* bones and ashes found, and aptly
 adioyneth his accounte vnto these wordes.
And his body (which as it were fantastical in the end and as it
were by spirites translated vnto places a farre off, and not subject
 35 *vnto death, fables so fully had sayned) was in these our dayes by*
wonderfull and as it were meruailous tokens founde out buried more

John Leyland
 Antiquary
 his funerall
 commendation
 vpon y^a
 life, deeds &
 death of the
 most Noble
 K. Arthure.

Siluester
 Giraldus
 his testimonie
 of Arthure
 his Tombe
 found.

¹ Text, *lasty*.

deeper in the earth at Glastenburie betweene two Pyrameds, in old time set vp within the religious place, and by a hollow Oake marked or knowne, & was with honor translated into the Church, & decently bestowed in a Marble Tombe. Whereupon a leaden crosse being engrauen in the stone not in the vpper part as it is accustomed 5 (but on the lowermost part rather) which we also haue seene (for we haue handled the same) conteyned these letters engrauen and not eminent and extant, but rather inwardlie turned to the stone.

HIC IACET SEPULTVS INCLITVS REX
ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIE.

10

And these wordes follow euen there.

And seeing there were some euident tokens of finding the bodie there by his inscriptions, and some by the Pyramedes engrauen (although as very much defaced and ouerworne by too much oldnesse of time:) yet most chiefly and most euidentlie did Henry the 15 second King of England declare and manifest full and whole vnto those Monckes, according as he had harde of that auncient historicall Mufician the Brittain: namely that they should finde him buried deeply in the earth for xvi. foote at the least, & not in a Tombe of stone, but in a hollow Oake. And therefore 20 his body (beeing laide and as it were hidden so deepe, to the end that it might not be founde of the Saxons, inhabiting the Island after his death, whome he in his life time had so puissantly subdued & almost destroyed) might scarcely at any time be found. 25

A wife pollycy
of workmen
in those dayes.

And for this cause were the letters as testimonies of truth engrauen vpon the crosse turned inwardes to the stone, to the end they should at that time kepe in secret, what they conteyned and that sometime also according to the place & time [30] requisite they might discouer or manifest that same meaning. 30 Moreouer also he writeth these words euen in the same place.

We must also know that the bones of Arthures bodie which were found, were so greate, that euen that saying of the poet might seeme in these words to be fulfilled.

Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa Sepulchris.

35

And the Tombes being digged forth right:

He shall maruaile at the greate bones in sight.

FOR the bone of his shinne beeing layde to the shinne of

a most tall perfon (which alfo the Abbot shewed vs) and as it was faftned vnto that ground neare vnto his foote, retched it felfe largely, three fingers ouer his knee.

The larg-
neffe of K.
Arthures
Lineaments.

Alfo the scalp of his head as it were a wonder or fpectacle, 5 was capable and groffe, in fo much as betweene the eye bryes and the eyes it largely conteyned a hande bignesse. There appeared in this, tenne or moe woundes : all which (except one only greater then the reft which gaped wide and which onely feemed to bee a deadlie wounde) grewe together into one whole 10 fcarre. Nowe if it shall auaille any man either to repeate ye very felfe fame thinges which I haue ere while recited out of *Giraldus*, or not much vnlike to thefe, let him read his booke viz. *Speculum Ecclesiasticum*, where as two chapters lightfomly entreat of this matter. In meane time yet I haue fomwhat 15 which holds me doubtfull. For *Giraldus* affirmeth y^t his burying place was of Oake, which as I doe not ftreight way affirme to be false : So I will infinuate thofe thinges, which vehemently perfuade me to ye contrary. Firft, the number of greate Alder trees which by a certaine nature are growing commodious for the 20 ground there. Moreouer agayne, I thinke the inhabitants of *Aualonia*, were not fo ignorant of natural thinges, y^t they should beleue ye Oake would continue longer in fomwhat a moyst ground, then the watery Alder tree, which is growing in the grounde.

Nota.

Ten woundes
difcerned in
his scalp.

A relation to
a further testi-
mony of
Giraldus. in
*Speculo Ec-
clesiastico*
yet par[t]ly
doubted.

Alder trees
in Aualonia.

25 They which haue written of *Trees*, willingly attribute fomwhat moist grounds to be apt both for Alder & Elme trees to be brought forth in them. There alfo remaineth another doubt, which, (if I any thing rightly iudge) shall rather feeme a plaine error, then any doubt at all. *Gyraldus* confirmeth that 30 *Arthures* Tombe was founde betweene two [30 back] Pyrameds in the religious place, at *Aualonia* : In which opinion, (as it were, fo confirmed with testimonie of ancient writers) euen I alfo remaine. But I am fo farre from beleueing any thing to be engrauen in them, which thing *Arthures* tombe (as *Giraldus* 35 declareth ye verie fame) should shew, expresse, or make famous, that in deede vnto me may appeare nothing leffe like to be true. If there had beene any fuch thing, I pray you who more truly or more playnly should haue manifested ye fame, then *Gulielmus Meildunensis* : vnto whom alone all posteritie ought to refer both

Where
Giraldus
affirmeth
K. Arthures
Tombe to be
found.
viz. betweene
two Pyrameds
at Aualonia
alias Glas-
tenbury.

A doubt.
Malmesbury.

their portractures & inscriptions. But hee in deede speaketh not so much as one worde of *Arthure*, whom elfwhere he diligently extolleth. Doubtlesse it is a coniecture probable, that *Giraldus* was vtterly ignorant what inscriptions those Pyramids contayned, seeing he faith the letters were worne out by antiquitie or oldnes 5 of time.

But I let passe *Giraldus* (a man truly otherwise learned & a great & greedy deuourer of ancient knowledge) as I am prouoked by another care not vnprofitable for the purpose: Namely that I should not onely by the testimonie of two, whom 10 I haue aboue named, but also by a full number of writers, confirme, establish, and persuaide as it were ratified, *Arthures* Tombe founde. Also to the end that that thing may more commodiously be done, I think there are causes agreeable why I may more profoundly repeate all and singuler testimonies of famous 15 men within a certaine conuenient and euydent scope of matter. In which behalfe *Claudius* a frenchman (to the end the reader may vnderstand that the credible report of *Arthures* Tombe found hapned euen vnto straungers vpriight and perfect) shall be a greate witnesse in matter abundant. 20

Anno 1217. The bodie of *Arthure* that noble king of *Brittaine*, (which had lyen buried. 600. and moe yeeres) was found in the Church of *S. Mary* at *Glastenbury*.

Heere, in computation of the yeeres, either by the Authors negligence (or as more sincerelie the Interpreter faith) by the 25 negligence of the booke writer, did there creepe in a foule error. For, *Henry* the *Second* of that name king of England dyed about the yeere after *Christes* byrth a thousand [31] one hundreth and nyntie: and the Tombe was founde in the first yeare of the raigne of King *Richard* the 1. his sonne. The 30 Cronicles of *Perfor Abbey* doe make relation of these thinges.

Anno Domini 1191. the Tombe of *Arthure* Kinge of *Brittaine* was found at *Glastenbury*: the leaden crosse vpon his brest, declaring that his name was there written. *Iohannes Fieberius* who is also commonly called *Beuer*, writeth these thinges most 35 briefly, and by way of running it ouer.

Anno Domini 1191. were founde at *Glastenbury* the bones of *Arthure*. *Matthew Paris* Moncke of the Monasterie of *S. Albane* at the racing and seege of that most auncient Cittie

John Ley-
lands inser-
tion of famous
men for
prooofe of
Arthures
Tombe found.

Claudius a
Frenchman.

Anno Domini
1190.

Perforana.
John Stow.

Anno Domini
1191.

Verolanium, nere vnto *S. Albones* in the Countie of *Hartford*, thus mentioneth of the Tombe. *The bones of the most famous King Arthure were founde at Glastenbury, laide vp in a certaine most auncient Tombe there, about the which stode erected two most*
 5 *auncient Pirameds wherein the letters were engrauen, but by reason of the too much rudnesse and deformitie they could not be reade. And they were found by this occasiō. For as they digged there,*
to bury a certaine Moncke, which with a vehement desire in his life time, had before wished for this place, as to be therein buried:
 10 *they founde a certaine close Tombe, vpon th: which was put a leade crosse, wherein was engrauen: HIC IACET INCLITVS BRITONVM*
REX ARTVRIVS, IN INSVLA AVALONIE SEPVLTVS. But that place
beinge rounde about encompassed with Marish groundes, was in times past called the Isle of Aualon, for truth that is the Ile of
 15 *Aples.*

By what
 chaunce
 Arthures
 Tombe was
 founde (as
 Matthew
 Paris faith)
 which yet
 Iohn Ley-
 lande affirms
 he neuer
 heard of to
 be true.

Like as by Good right I favour verie much the authoritie of this *Matthew*, so I am fory that a fewe wordes chaunced redounding to this declaration in the inscription. Certes that which he mentioneth of the Moncke, I neuer hearde of before,
 20 neyther doth he so farre forth perswade mee of the truth.

Ranulphus Higeden of *Chester* also maketh mention of
 [31 back] King *Arthure* his Tombe. I omit to mention other
 Authours, and that with employed diligence, because I would
 not seeme to affectate the number of witneses in a matter so
 25 manifestly knowne and credited.

Ranulphus
 Higeden of
 Chester men-
 tioneth of
 Arthures
 Tombe.

Cap. xvi.

The Tranflation of King Arthures bones.

I Remember that in my Epistle dedicatory, I haue spoken of
Arthures Lyneamentes, three times translated. Whereof, which
 was the first, (because it appeareth not euidēt enough by the
 30 greater Church at *Glastenbury*, from whence they write these
 were first of all conueyed) I will somewhat more manifestly and
 more lightfomely notify. I learned of the Monckes at *Glastenbury*
 most diligent referuers no doubtē of the Antiquitie pertayning

Arthures
bones & affes
translated into
the greate
Church at
Glastenbury.

The remouing
of them into
the midle
Iles of the
Queare.

The third
translation of
King Arthure
in the dayes of
King Edward,
sirnamed the
long, alias
the first of
that name.

to their Cloyster, that *Arthures* Lyneamentes were translated into the greate Church (which worke was greatly augmented by the liberallitie of *Henry Plantagenet*) from the religiouse place: but not laide in that place at that time where they now be. There is a porch towards the South parte, and a Chap- 5
pell from whence they go into the Treasury. In this place men affirmed that *Arthures* bones remayned for a certaine season: after that againe, that they were translated to the midle Iles of the Queare.

By which interchaunge of time, a newe, stately, and magnifi- 10
cent Tombe out of blacke Marble (such as we see the *Lydian* or tutch stone) was both heawne and cut out, & at that time together framed, by vnaccustomed workmanshippe and witty deuise: concerning which, and also the translation thereof, to write at this present, it were vndoubtedly a needlesse thinge, 15
seeing that in the chapter before going touching *Arthures* Tombe founde, all those matters appeare together in their order. Therefore let our history apply it selfe vnto the third translation: which was made in y^e dayes of *Edward*, sirnamed *Longshanke*, 20
K. of England not only the cheefest patrone of *Arthures* praife, but also y^e loue, & great reuerencer of his fame, when as all y^e Lyneamentes of them remayning [32] in the most stately Tombe (where they tooke their rest together before) sauing the shinne bones of the King, and of the Queene, which he commaunded to be kept abroad, it was no doubt a spectacle 25
of Antiquitie very acceptable vnto the nobilitie thither resorting. And to the ende now that so noble a deede of King *Edward* (who neuer enough can bee commended) may enioy eternall fame: I will recyte al and singular such testimonies hetherunto pertayning, as were most faithfully taken out of the Arches of the 30
Monastery of *Glastenbury*, Authour of which things also was the same Monck of *Glastenbury*, who had in him a most earnest care to extoll *Arthure* with due commendations, and with a founde faith to aduance vnto the posteritie these actes done by him. The writer neyther wanted lightsome order, nor wit in handling 35
his matters: But that age had neyther familiarly *Greeke* nor *Latine* eloquence. What manner thinges so euer these bee, as he write them, so will I recyte them in order, yet pondering by the way, that poynt in time conuenient: not with how greate

elegancie, but how worthie and howe true those thinges are, which he maketh mention of.

Anno Domini 1276. King Edward, the Sonne of Henry the thirde came with the Queene his wife vnto *Glastenbury*. But
 5 vpon Tewfday next folowing the Kinge and all his Court was entertaigned there at the Monasteries chardges. On which day in the twylight time he caused to be opened *Arthures Tombe*, where, (in two Coffines theire portraictures and Armes being depainted thereon) hee founde the bones of the saide Kinge, of
 10 a wonderfull thickeesse and largenesse seperated. The picture of the Queene in deede was made with a Crowne vpon her heade. The Crowne of the Kinges picture was made lyinge downe, with the abscision of his left eare, and with the euident signes of that wounde whereof hee dyed. Upon euery one of these was
 15 founde a manifest plaine inscription.

The day folowing, namely being wedneseday, the Kinge shutting vp the Kinges bones, and the Queene his wife the Queenes bones, folded vppe in feuerall wrappers [32 back] of precious preferuatiues and putting to their seales, commaunded
 20 that the same Tombe should be with all speede placed before the hye Alter, outwardly retayning still the heades of them both to be seene, engrauen by reason of the zeale of the people, inwardly setting therein such a like sentence. *Hæc sunt ossa nobilissimi Regis Arthuri quæ Anno Dominicæ incarnationis. 1278. Decimo*
 25 *calend. Maij per. Dominum Edwardum Regem Angliæ illustrem hic fuerunt sic collocata, præsentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem Regis consorte, & filia Domini Edwardi¹ Regis Hispaniæ: Magistro Gulielmo de Middleton, tunc Norwicensi² electo Magistro.* Thoma de Becke, Archidiacono Dorcetenſi & predicti
 30 *Regis Theſaurario, Domino Henrico de Lafcey comite Lincolnæ, Domino Amadio comite Sabaudiæ, & multis magnatibus Angliæ.* Thus farre mentioneth the Moncke of *Glastenbury*.

Go now *William Paruus* together with thy ſucceſſour in place, and ſtoutly deny thou that eyther *Arthure* liued not,
 35 or was not victoriouſe in times paſt. Surely thou ſhalt neyther haue me partaker, nor fauourer, no nor yet one in loue with thine opinion, nay rather errour, at any time. Undoubtedly it

The ſame King and his wife, viz. King Arthures Tombe.

King Edward the firſt, and Queene Elyanor his wife behold King Arthurs Image & the Quenes his wife with their inſcriptions.

Theire commandement made for preferuation of the Lyna-mentes of K. Arthure & his Queene entombed, & for continuall reſeruati- on of their memoriall.

William Paruſ an enemy of K. Arthures fame.

¹ Leland has *Ferrandi*.

² Text, *Norwicensi*.

were a greate and greeuouse crime, not onely worthie of stripes, but also of all kinde of punishment, if any man should derogate from her the glory due to his Cuntie, should enuy the fame of his *Princes*, which haue most iustly deserued well of the common weale, and should not finally stand vp with valiancy and famous 5 actes by all meanes to adorne and illustrate the fame.

John Ley-
landes peti-
tion to the
friendly
Readers.

Truly, I hope (most friendly Readers) it will fall out, (that the equitie of the cause being knowne) and also y^e truth, I shall haue you my friendly healpers herein: and that (such is your good will, humanitie, and integritie) you will also willingly render me ¹⁰ thanks for my duety towards the common weale. In the meane time I trusting to this good fortune will doubtlesse endeouour all that I may, so as hauing taken a fresh courage vnto me, and that most confirmed, I may boldly enterprise ¹⁵ to buckle with hand to hand, and by might and maine ouermatch the broode of backbiters which [33] importunately, greeuously, and enuiously murmur at, and inueigh against the commendations of *Arthure*, for so, as it were to make an end of my worke, haue I by all meanes determined with my selfe.

Chap. xvij.

A confutation and ouerthrow of Slaunders rashly affirming ²⁰ that *Arthure* was not liuing.

Writers vary-
ing what time
K. Arthure
liued.

Historiographers do contend, and as yet the controuerfie is before the iudge, at what time *Arthure* florished. And this contention hath so encreased, and gathered force, that doubts, (concerning uniuerfall credite of the historie, which declareth ²⁵ his exploits done) as yet sticke to the feeble¹ concepts of the Readers.

Valerius.
Hector
Boetius.

But this is so weake a slander, that it needes not any diligent answer. *Valerius* saith that he florished in the time of *Zenon* the Emperour. But *Hector Boetius* reporteth in the time of ³⁰ *Iustinian* the *Barbarians* then inhabiting Italy. Finally others write otherwise: concerning the time I doe not much force vpon, were it euen now. Although yet from hence, the time is easily gathered, namely from the raigne of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, of whome also *Paule* the Deacon makes mention. Perhaps ³⁵

Paulus
Diaconus.

¹ Text, *feeble*.

some of the aduersaries will say, How comes it to passe, that *Paule* remembreth not *Arthure*? I answere, *Paule* had other matters to busie himselfe with, then doubtfully to make famous the Brittaines, which were not as yet forsaken of the Romans.

5 In y^e meane time he takes away nothing from *Arthures* dignitie or historie, because he is not named of him: seeing by the way a good number of noble personages throughout the whole worlde are of the same Author passed ouer with silence.

Undoubtedly y^t seemeth to haue greate effect, where as *Gildas* Gildas a fabler.

10 the writer of *Brittaine* wrytes nothing at all of *Arthure*. There be which cyte the testimonie of *Gildas*, both in his fauour and praise also. But that *Gildas* in deede is a [33 back] fabler, and layde foorth as an open praie vnto silly wormes and Moathes, at *Oxenforde*, in the Lybrary.

15 *Gildas* his historie is published abroade of *Polidorus*, vn- Maridunensi. doubtedlie a fragment of y^e old *Gildas*, but it is lame, out of order, and maimed, so farre forth, as if he were now againe restored to life, the father would scarce knowe his chyld. It is evidently knowne that he wrote bookes which by him were

20 entituled *Cambriedos*, found out eight hundreth yeres and more agone in the Islandes of *Ireland*, and caried ouer in to *Italy*. Admitte the Historie of *Gildas* bee true: How coulede he as an eye witnesse declare anything truely of *Arthure*, when he himselfe saith, y^t he was borne in the yeere when the battle

25 was fought at *Bathe*, where *Arthures* victorie (and that in deede most famous) fell vnto him, as *Nennius* witnesseth. The enemy gathereth. *Gildas* makes no mention at all of *Arthure*: Ergo he was neuer liuing. Undoubtedly a subtile gathering, such a one as this is: *Gildas* remembreth not *Aruiragus*, *Lucius*,

30 or *Constantine* the greate, and therefore they were not liuing. O straunge force of Logicke! And yet being hartened with this so weake argument (as it seemeth to him in deede) he thinkes he hath easily gotten the best game. Is this an Italian reason? For certainly, now can I hardly any longer abyde to

35 be called *Vltramontanus*, or one that goeth beyond his boundes: And surely why?

Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans Mare currunt.

The ayer, not mind change they,

Which take their voyage ouer the Seay.

Gildas an
vnthanke-
full perfon
& reproch-
full towards
his countrie
of Brittain.

I know yet in the meane time, what y^e Wealch Writers doe iudge of *Gildas* his silence, fo much as vnto *Arthure* appertaineth: namely, for that *Hoel* the cofengermaine of *Gildas* was flaine of *Arthure*: this was y^e caufe his name was neglected. But I will not fo much reft vpon this helpe or fauegard: being 5 rather ready to fight out the battle with him, because (as vnthankefull and the fame fcarfe wife, I will not fay vngodly) hee hath blemifhed his countrimen the *Brittaines* with this blot or error of his.

Britanni nec in Bello fortes, nec in pace fideles.

10

[34] Surely but that I fhould feeme to fauour mine owne affection, or feede the choller of my stomake, I my felfe woulde heere coragiously enforce my weapon & that in deede sharpe againft this slanderous enemy of y^e *Brittaines*. But I will moderate mine anger, being ready to bring hether 15 from another place (amongft thefe) moft valiant or floute defenders of y^e truth, leaft mine affection may feeme to haue iniured any man.

Siluefter
Giraldus
promifed
to confute
the flanders
of Gildas.

Siluefter Giraldus (in his *Topographia* or description of *Wales*) promifeth that he will anfwere this slander of *Gildas*, in 20 his *Topographie* or description of *Brittaine*: which booke y^t he hath fo written in times paff, I doubt not; but fo far as I know it is not in thefe our dayes extant in any place. What hee in meane while writeth in his 2. booke of y^e *Description of Wales*, I wil now amongeft others bring forth to light. But for fo 25 much as *Iulius Cafar*, who was fuch a manner of man, as y^e testimony of the whole worlde vnder *Caffiulane* y^e Duke sheweth, viz. when, as *Lucane* y^e Poet faith.

Nota.
Siluefter
Giraldus his
praife of the
Brittaines.

Anno. ante
Chrift. na-
tiuit. 50.

Territa quæfitis ostendit terga Britannis.

*Vnto the Brittaines by him fought,
He shewed his trembling backe for nought.*

30

An. ante
Chrift.
natiuitat.
401.
Post Christum
107.
Brittaines
alwaies ap-
proued

Were not those *Brittaines* valiant and coragious persons? Againe, what were they when *Bellinus* & *Brennus* added y^e Romane Empyre vnto their victories? what were they in y^e daies of *Constantine* the Emperour, & sonne of *Helen* sometime 35. heere Queene? what were they in y^e raigne of *Aurelius Ambrosius* Anno, post *Chrift*. 466. whom also *Paule* the Deacon

extolleth with praifes! And to conclude, what fellows were valiant
 they in y^e daies of our famous *Arthure*. *An. post Christ* 516. persons, &
Iosephus the writer brought vp at *Exeter* in *Deuonshire* in his euen in
 booke *Antiochides*, thus singeth. Arthure his time
 An. 540.
 Ifcae.

5 Inclita fulsit.
 Posteritas Ducibus tantis, tot diues Alumnis,
 Tot sæcunda Viris præmerent qui viribus orbem,
 Et fama veteres. Hinc *Constantinus* adeptus,
 Imperium, Romam tenuit, Bizantion auxit.
 10 Hinc Senonum ductor, captiua Brennius vrbe,
 Romuleas domuit, flammis Victricibus artes,¹
 Hinc & sæua fatus, pars non obscura tumultus.
 [34 back]
 Ciuilis, magnum solus qui mole soluta
 Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro *Cæsare* murus.

Laudes.
 veterum
 Heroum &
 Regis Arthuri
 præcipue.

15 Hinc celebri fato fœlici floruit ortu,
 Flos Regum *Arthurus*: Cuius cum facta stupori
 Non micuere minus, totus quod in aure voluptas,
 Et populo narrante fauus, Quæcunque, priorum,
 Inspice: *Peleum* commendat fama Tyrannum,
 20 Pagina *Cæsareos* loquitur formosa tryumphos,
 Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstis,
 Sed, nec *Pinetum Coryli*, nec sydera solem
 Æquant. Annales Latios, Graiosque reuolue.
 Prisca parem nescit, æqualem Postera nullum
 25 Exhibitura dies. *Reges* supereminet omnes
 Solus, præteritis melior maiorque futuris.

The English

Noble posteritie.

With so great Princes richlie shined, & Patrons so many,
 30 So stored with men which conquered the world with valiancy.
 And fame extolleth auncients. Hence had *Constantine* possess
 The Empyre; Rome he surely kept, and Bizance eke encreast.
 Hence *Brennus* the Italians guide, (in Citie captiued so)
 With conquering flames the stately towers of Rome did ouerthrow.
 35 And hence those cruell Impes, a part (of ciuil broile) not base,

The praises of
 ancient Po-
 tentates &
 amongst them
 of K. Arthure
 especially.

¹ Leland, *arces*.

*Alone besiedge their mightie Prince, the huge hoaste letting passe.
Defence & sauegarde so, whereby to Cæsar was.*

*Hence florished by famous fate, & origin prosperous
Arthure the flowre of kinges, whose deedes shined no lesse mar-
ueilous :*

Then that both peoples eares & tongues did in his praise delite :
As, if thou view of former wights, what euer bookes recite.

*Fame doth Peleus tyrant blaze : and Romane histories
Extoll their Cæsars tryumphes greate, after their victories,
Renoume aduanceth Hercules subduing monsters greate :*

*But not Coryli, Pinetus, nor Starres the Sunne his heate
Coequate. Search the Cronicles of Greekes & Latines both :*
*Auncient age knoweth not his like, ne yet posteritie doth
His match declare. All kinges alone in deede surmounteth he,
Better then those are dead & gone, Greater then any shall be.*

Gildas his
former dis-
praise of the
Brittaines here
ouermastered
with praise
worthinesse.

[35] HOW or in what manner these may not answere the
prayfes by *Gildas* before recyted, the discreete Reader at large
fully seeth : and perceyueth *Arthures* commendations hereunto
(amongest the rest added) to agree so well vnto this place, that
I almost haue no neede to reckon them as (I trust) with any
fault of mine, but in deede (good Readers) if I iudge aright, with
your very much pleasure and delight. For the verses before
going haue their right father or authour that he in deede should
then be liuing. Moreouer againe they so pleasantly allure the
eares of vncorrupt sence, with a certaine apt concinnitie or
proper agreement, with pure elegancie and equall Maiestie (that
except fancy faile me) they shall fully & wholly please the
Reader, yea were it so that I reckoned them ouer ten times.
Ponticus Verunnius an *Italian* but yet one that loued the
Brittaines well, beinge iustly angry with *Polidorus* the *Italian*,
thundereth forth these wordes.

Ponticus vi-
runnius
an Italian,
commending
the Brittaines.

*O admirabile tunc genus Britonum qui eum, (Caesarem
intelligit) bis in fugam expulerunt, qui totum orbem submiserat
occidentis : Cui quasi totus mundus postea nequiuil resistere illi
etiam fugati resistunt, parati pro patria & libertate mortem¹ subire.*
Which may thus be englisht.

O wonderfull nation of the *Brittaines* in that age, which twise
put him (he meaneth *Cæsar*) to flight, who had conquered the

¹ In Leland's text *mortem* precedes *pro*.

whole weft part of the world: whom as it were, when the vniuerfall world could not refist afterwarde, euen they them felues being put to flight, refifted, being ready to dy for their Country and the libertie thereof.

- 5 Hereupon fingeth *Lucane* the *Poet* vnto their praifes, (writing *Lucanus*. of *Cæſar*) as before is ſaide.

Territa quæſitis offendit terga Britannis.

Vnto the Brittaines by him fought,

he ſhewed his trembling backe for nought.

- 10 IF in this place I ſhould rather endeuour to mende the matter with multitude of testimonies, then with vpright truth of effect, I could alſo take out of *Iohannes Anneuillanus* his *Architrenio* (that litle booke wittily in praife hand-[35 back] Iohannes Anneuillanus in *Architrenio* alſo commend- ing the Brittaines. ling the fame) certaine litle verſes concerning the valiancy
15 and prowefſe of the *Brittaines*: For ſo ſhould I ſhutte vp the mouthes of brabbling backbyters againſt the praifes of theſe *Brittaines*, and that with a ſufficient frontier framed for the purpoſe. But me ſeemeth that I make more a dooe about theſe bablers then is conuenient. Let them with ſhame enough
20 come to naught and burſt them ſelues in their enuy: for ſo much as the honour of *Brittaine* neyther ſtandeth nor falleth by meanes of ſuch foggy miſtes. But by the way, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme not mindefull enough of my promiſe, I come againe to the encounter ready to vanquiſh the force of argumentes which the aduerſaries
25 haue gotten. The *Romane* writers (ſay they) made no mention of *Arthure*, wherefore, like it is to be true, that he was not liuing.

- If no thing be true, but that which appeareth by truth of *Romane* writers, it ſhould go euill to paſſe with the hiſtory of the whole worlde. The infinite force of thinges worthie of memory,
30 and of noble effect conſiſteth rather of eye witneſſes at home reſident and inhabiting, then of the vncertaine relation made by forraine writers. For the *Romanes* made almoſt all the whole worlde bond ſlaues: and writers which proceeded amongſt them, and were there borne applyinge their mindes to the ſtudy of
35 eloquence, made their owne exploytes euen admirable or wonderfull; but the enterpriſes & actes of other Nations they dyd¹ euen ſo obſcure and debaſe, that almoſt they made them none at all.

Romanes care-
full for their
owne fame,
but negligent
in all other
mens.

¹ Text, dyed.

Honour vnto
learning in
times past
rare.

For the matter was so handled by them, that they would elegantly and not truly pleade their cause. They painted out such things in writings, which they might rather lawfully hope for, then see at that time, done by the most prudent Gouvernours. And vndoubtedly maruell it is not, that they made no remembrance at all of *Arthure*. The *Goathes* at that time had invaded *Italy*, and barbarouse style with phrase of writing and speaking was brought in, in steade of eloquence, so farre forth, that honour vnto learning was rare, & rewardes for the same, were most rarely vnderstoode off. And y^e matter was not handled by writers but by warriers. Wherefore if any certaine thing were written as touchinge [36] *Arthure* the same might rather bee done of the *Brittaine* writers what manner persons so euer they were, then of the nouicy and ignorance of the *Romanes*, not onely declynge from the function or office of writing, but also carefully thinking vpon their owne wretched estate and calamitie, dayly faling vpon them by many meanes, lettinge passe all other things.

Most puyfant
Personages
haue beene
parcely
prayed in
truth.

An other brabler after this alledgeth, more vaine matters are in *Arthures* History conteyned then that they may tollerably be allowed of him that is of ripe iudgement, and discreet knowledge. If he meane touching that History which is reade amongst the common sorte in the *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Frenche* and *English* tongues, I do not much strue with him. Although the vpriight reader shall call to minde, the same thing hath beene often times done euen in the History each where forraine of *Charles*, *Rowlande*, *Godfrey*, *Guy*, and *Bellouse*, that I may let passe many others. Neyther yet notwithstanding are their names, or credit of the true History taken away the more. It is no noueltie, that men mixe triflinge toyes with true things, and surely this is euen done with a certaine employment that writers might captivate y^e simple common people with a certaine admiration at them when they heare of marueylouse matters. So was *Hercules*, so was *Alexander*, so *Arthure*, and so also *Charles* commended. But there is an other farre greater reason incident to the History of *Arthure*, then I do conceaue of. For those things which are not apparant in course of ages, which are not probable, which as aliable helpes agree not with the credit of Authours, which are not embraced in long exercife of y^e ages,

and furdurance of learned men, & by them comprobate or fully ratified I do not vnadvisedly allow off. Many yeares againe,¹

Graius the Authour of the booke *Schalecronicon* (as I suppose)

had great contention with this rable of backbiters. Unto him

5 was *Beda* obiected, who passed ouer *Arthure* with great silence.

Paradventure this holy man refused to mention ye Prince,

because he was borne in adulte[r]y.² And it might also be, y^t

when he had heard some one or other prophecies spoken of

him, by those historical signes y^t it a-[36 back]lienated his minde

10 vtterly from the whole history. But they neyther adde, nor take

away credit. That is most true, whereas *Beda* otherwise a good

man and a learned, did not onely slenderly esteeme of the glory of

Brittaines name, but also despyed or neglected it. For, there

was some what a dooe betwene them and the *Saxons* concern-

15 the rule ouer *Brittaine*. The Romish Bishoppe practized by

all meanes to keepe vnder his iurisdiction (which hee had most

wickedly obtayned) the English *Saxons*. For this cause the

Brittaines cursed him. He againe with a certaine hatred

moued, sette the *Saxons* and them together by the eares. Then,

20 I pray you what praises might the *Brittans* hope for at the *Saxon*

writers? Undoubtedly, cold commendations or rather none at

all. Adde hereunto, that *Beda* also was ignorant in ye affaires

of *Brittaine* before the dayes of *Gildas*; so farre forth as hee

neither knew of ye monument in memory of *Arthures* Corona-

25 tion at *Ambrosia*, nor of ye fame thereof. A thing credible it is,

that the calamitie of those warres which had consumed and

destroyed Churches, together with libraries infinite, had vtterly

raced out of knowledge, manifest or euident monumentes of

Antiquitie. Whereupon to him that should then take in hand to

30 write of Antiquitie touching *Brittaine*, all thinges were most

obscure and vnknowne. There are which thinke many thinges

haue beene translated into *Armorica* or the lesser *Brittaine*,

although at this day verie fewe thinges may be hoped for from

thence, sauing that a few notes are extant in most auncient

35 exemplars of the liues of holie men thither reparing, and which

intermixe light with darknesse.

Gulielmus Paruus of *Bridelington*, in his Prologue before his

History thus thundereth out his errour.

Graius the
Author of that
booke *Schale-*
cronica had
much adoe
with such
backbiters.

Beda more
religiously then
Historically
addicted.

Nota
The tyranny
of the Romish
Bishop be-
twene the
Saxons and
Brittaines of
olde time.

William
Paruus his
slander of
Arthure.

¹ For agone!

² Text, *adultery*.

Galsfridus Hic dictus est, cognomen habens Arthuriij, qui diuinationum illarum nenias ex Britannica lingua transtulit, quibus vt non frustra creditur, ex proprio figmento multa adiecit. *William Paruus* there saith: This man is called *Geoffry* bearing the surname of *Arthure*, who translated y^e *Fabulus Dreames* of those 5 prophecies out of y^e *Brittaine* language: whereunto he (as men do not credit [37] vanelie hath also added many thinges after the deuice and imagination of his owne braine. These wordes vttereth he vpon a stomake and contempte. But I will sing him a contrarie songe euen for euer and a day. That men beleuee 10 him in vaine, except he prooue this rather by reason, then by naked or playne wordes.

Well I knowe, and that too well, manie fables and vanities are disperced throughout the whole history of *Brittaine*. Yet, therein are matters (if a man behold the same more thorowly) 15 such as might not be desired without greate hinderance of auncient knowledge, and which beeing rather reade then vnderstood by *William Paruus* beare not any shewe at all of commodity. Againe, I will also heere set downe another honourable testimony, namely not onely touching the Interpreter of the 20 historie, but also concerning *Arthure* himselfe. Plainly it appeareth, that whatsoeuer thinges this fellow published in writing (concerning *Arthure*, and *Merline* to seede y^e curiositie of the not so discrete persons) were fainedly inuented of lying and dissembling Authours. Let him cogge and soyste sixehundreth 25 times, if hee will. *Merlinus* was in very deede a man euen miraculouly learned in knowledge of thinges naturall, and especially in the science Mathematicall: For the which cause he was most acceptable and that deseruingly vnto the *Princes* of his time, and a farre other manner of man, then that hee woulde 30 repute himselfe as one subiect vnto y^e iudgement of any cowed or loytering grosseheaded Moncke. But I will let passe *Arthure* and *Merline*, the one more valiant, the other more learned, then that they ought to regarde eyther the pratling or importunitie of the common people. And that seemeth vnto me a thing most 35 vnequall and against all right, that one Moncke beareth enuie towards another Moncke, which is euen dead and gone. *William Paruus* might haue hoped for greater victory of the liuing, then of the deade Persons. This yet by the waye did

hee count for aduauntage, to strike him that woulde not strike againe.

But if the Spirites of dead men haue any knowledge [37 back] of humane matters, he shall so farre perceiue that
 5 beyond equity and honesty hee beares away no victorie from *Geoffrey*, that dead is, but that by his wounde he hath procured him selfe a perpetuall wounde and bloodshedde. Neither is there cause why hee should hope for the present helpe of that Phisition *Polidorus* from the Citie *Vrbinas*, for as much as hee
 10 him selfe also languishing of like disease hath very greate neede of a cunning mans cure. And there remayneth as yet another wounde, wherewith *W. Paruus* supposed that hee had euen quite dispatched *Geoffrey* out of this life. For, so hee insulteth.

Nec vnum quidem Archiepisc[op]um vnquam habuere
 15 Britones.

Neither (saith hee) *had the Brittaines in deede so much as one Archbishoppe at any time.*

Didst thou learne this amongst the *Brigantes*?

Afferius Meneuensis, sometimes the Schoolmaster of *Alfredus*
 20 surnamed the greate, king of England, taught mee another manner of matter in these wordes, in the booke of his Cronicles. Qui sæpe depredabatur (*Hemeidum* Regulum intelligit) illud Vixit Alfredus
 Monasterium & Paræciam S. *Degwi*, id est, *Dauidis*, aliquando circiter.
 expulsione Antistitium qui in eo præessent, sicut & nobis Archi- Annum. 842. &
 post 28. ann.

25 episcopum propinquum meum & me aliquando expulsit, sub ipsis.
Which did ofentimes spoyle (he meaneth Hemeidus the Duke) that same Monasterie and parrish of Saint Degwy that is S. David, in times past by banishing of the Bishoppes which bare sway therein, like as he banished sometime from vs the Archbishoppe my
 30 *neighbour, and me also vnder them.*

Gyraldus makes mention and with verie good credite that *Dubritius* was Archbishop of *Exceter*. For *Isca* so called is the *Ifcanus & Ifcae.*
 most noble Cytie of *Deuonia*, and most auncient of others, (by reason of the Ryuers and floude bearing the same name) there
 35 edified, which also was called of the Romans, the citie of *Caerlegion* or *Chester* vpon *Huske*. The Bishoppes Sea beeing translated from thence vnto *Sainte Dauids*, where the most holy and the same most Learned *Dauid* florished in the dignity of an *Iohn Stow.*
Archbishop.

[38] Sampson a man of famous memorie, Archbishop of *S. Davids* in *Wales* shunning the sickenefse or disease of the laundice, went vnto *Armorica*, or the lesse Britaine: whereupon came the originall of the Archbishopricke of *Dolence*. And from *Sampsons* time vnto y^e victories of y^e *Normans* ouer the 5 Welchmen all the Bishops beyond *Seuerne* as yt were of solemne orders were consecrate by the bishop of *Sainte Davids* their *Primate*: who when the *Paule* sayled him, with tooth and nayle retayned still all his title and interest.

Moreouer, it appeareth by y^e *Dialogue* of *Siluester Giraldus* 10 that the Cannons at *S. Davids* (in the time of *Dauid* the Bishop which succeded *Bernharde*) had a treatie with *Richarde* the greate, Archbishop ouer the Kentish men (in prefence of *Hugucion* the Cardinall) concerning the Metropolitane tytle of their Church; whereof the same *Giraldus*, handled earnestlie 15 an entreatie at Rome, being afterwarðes chosen Bishop of *S. Davids*.

3. Bishops
Sees. London,
Yeorcke, and
Caerlegion
vpon Hufke in
Walles.

And that I may recite more Ancient testimonies, *Ptolomeus Lucensis*, (who wrote the liues of the Romish Bishops) declareth y^t in *Eleutherius* his time three chiefe flammings in *Brittaine* were 20 conuerted into so many Archbishops. *London*, in old time called *Troynouant*, & *Yeorcke* then also called *Brigantum*, without doubt florished famously with this dignitie or prerogatiue. Where then is the third Bishops Sea? Where els but in *Wales*.

In which poynte that I my selfe say nothing, *Trittemius* surely 25 in his abridgment of Cronicles is also a lightfome and plaine witnesse. May not then *William Paruus* the Schoolemaster be ashamed to haue inculcate into the eares of *Polidorus* his scholler farre better Learned then himselfe such vaine tales. But, beholde, by one euill another euill chauncing. The ingrafted 30 error so far forth hath now infected a number, y^t scarce is this diseafe curable by any *Helleborus*, no though they sayle into *Anticyria* for y^e same. And yet for footh are they compelled, I knowe not by what violent Authoritie in the meane time to haue a good opynyon [38 back] of this their Schoolemaster. 35 These I say before hand, are hard poyntes to beleeeue. Surely I wifh all thinges prosperous vnto my Schoolemasters. But when the matter is in handling concerning truth and credite of the cause, doubtlesse I beare no parciall affection towards any

of them : No certainly if I shoulde by and by knowe that they woulde euen catch and conquere for mee all mine enemyes at once.

A Peroration or brieue Conclusion

5

To the Readers

HEtherto (most courteous Readers) haue I described *Arthure* in his coloures, not without diligence, laboure, and finally a ready good will: but yet in meane while, whether with like eloquence, grace, and good successe I haue done this, let that by
 10 the iudgement of honest and learned persons bee determined. For I knowe very well, *How slender Furniture I haue at home*: For the which cause I challenge not any thing at all vnto my selfe: Vndoubtedly I might foone appeare both rash & vnwife, if I should so doe. Onely I purposed of good wil to make
 15 tryall of my wit in a matter honest, to helpe the history languishing, to aduance the glory of my country, hindred by enuy, and beeing enthralled vnto the crafty deceiptes of euill willers, restore the fame honestly vnto liberty. I knowe it will come to passe, that most mighty enemies will assaulte my doinges: Let them
 20 ouercome with powre, if they can, so the trueth be ours. I will imitate the Noble *Palme Tree*, which beeing pressed downe with heauie burdens yet falleth not to the ground at any time. And neither at this instant doe I seeke for any reward: so you vouchsafe me your courtesy, good will & fauour, truly I may
 25 perswade my selfe I haue al thinges that I rightlie looke for. And for amendes, on my part also shall hereunto ensue most requisite promptitude & expedite alacrity, enflamed also by vertue of en-[39]couragement vnto like enterprises not onely, but also to imparte you greater matters which shall stirre vp your
 30 learned eares, and being stirred vp, may long detaine them, and so deteyned as it were by a certaine land floude of pleasant delight therewith bring them vnto fragrant fieldes. And all these thinges do I easly promise my selfe, trusting in your honestie and helpe, as one doubtlesse fully bent vpon hope
 35 thereof. Surely my muse (such as it is) altogether is youre: neyther tendeth she to any other purpose at any time, but vnto

your behoofe, and the commoditie of all men. I count it a bafe
 feruice to fatiffie the common peoples humor: but to performe
 you my continuall induftrie differeth not far from a kingdome,
 fuch a one as by a iuft caufe I may prefer euen before the
 kingdome of *Alexander*. For what more referued hee vnto 5
 him felfe wholly (when he dyed) of fo greate Riches, poffeffions
 and dominions, fauing fame onely. This, (though by many
 accomptes in example inferior) obteyned by your meane fhall
 I yet fo earnestly aduance, that nightes and dayes fhall the
 watch for your welfare & emolument. And at lengthe (thofe 10
 fame moft thicke miftie cloudes in deede of ignorance beeing
 fhaken off, & vtterly dafhed afide) the light of *Brittish*
 Antiquitie with difplayed beames farre and wide
 fhall fhine forth. God giue you long life
 and wellfare, moft fincere fauorers
 of vertue and good learning. 15

FINIS.

LONDON.

Imprinted by *John wolfe*, dwelling in
Distaffe Lane ouer againft the figne of
 the *Caftell*.

1582

ASSERTIO inclytissimi Arturii

REGIS BRITANNIAE
JOANNE LELANDO

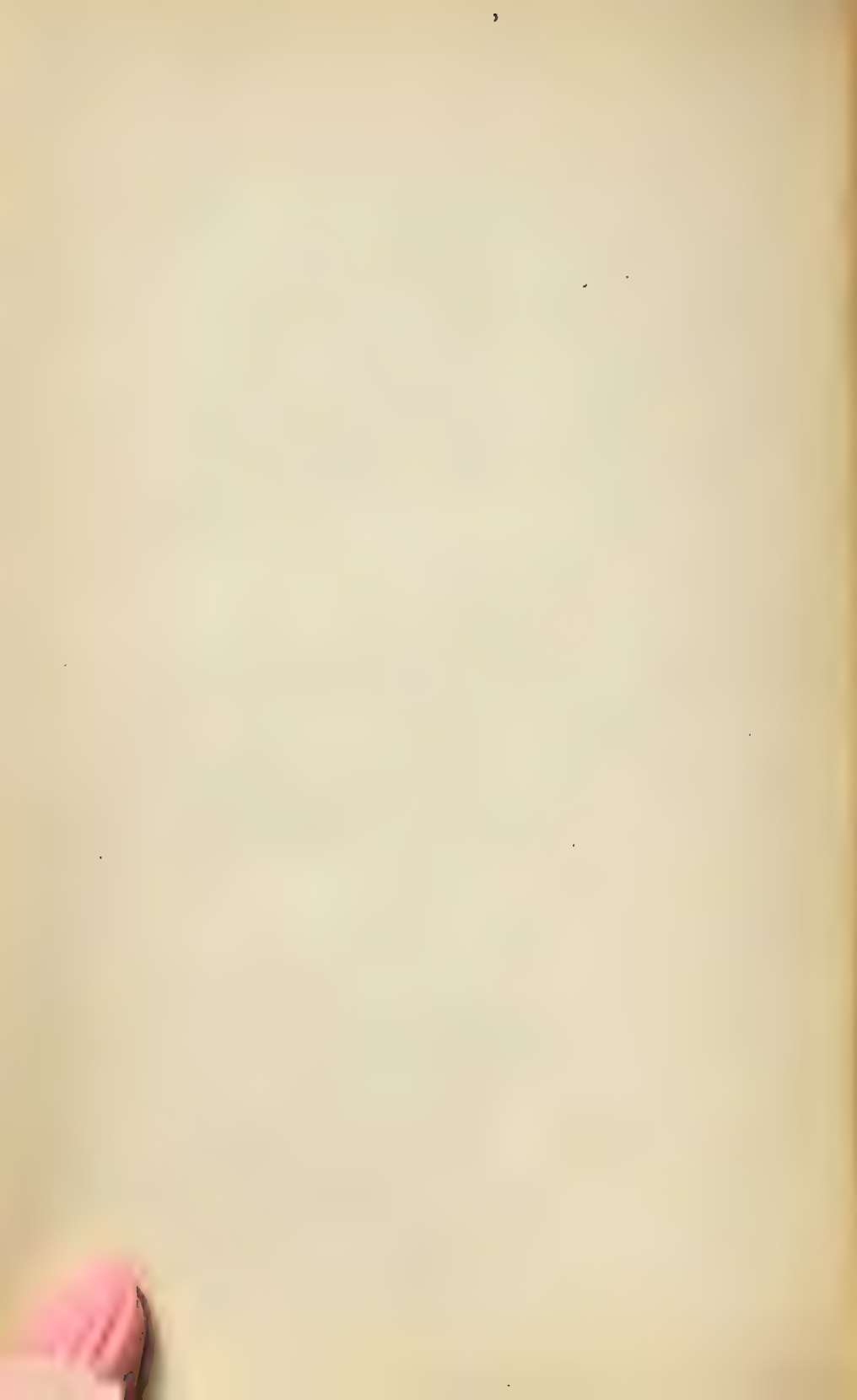
Antiquario
autore.

Ad candidos lectores.

*Delituit certe multis Arturius annis
Vera Britannorum gloria, lumen, bonos.
Dispulit obscuras alacer Lelandius umbras,
Sidereum mundo restituitque iubar.
Plaudite lectores studiosa caterua disertii,
Præstitit officium candidus ille suum.
Hinc procul at fugiant Codrino felle tumentes.
Ne proprio crepitent ilia rupta malo.*

LONDINI. ANNO

1544.



Henrico Octavo

inuictissimo Regi Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiber

niæ, Fidei defensori, Anglicæ ac Hibernicæ

ecclesiæ proxime a Christo supremo

5 *capiti, Ioannes Lelandus Anti-*
quarius. S. P. D.

Cura semper merito maxima eruditis fuit Rex longe serenissime, ut fortia illustrium uirorum facta sacrosanctæ posteritati accurate, splendide, magnifice consecrarent: ne rerum undecunque memora-
10 *bilium, conspicuum lumen crassa silentii umbra aliquando obdu-*
ceretur. Hinc Hebræi Iudam Maccabæum magnis extollunt præconitiis. Hinc Homerus Græcus poetarum gloria Hectora, et Achillem commendatissimos orbi reliquit. Nec segniori usi sunt Græci diligentia in exornando Alexandro bellatorum inuictissimo.
15 *Romani uero Cæsaris facinora tantum non ad sidera tollunt. Burgundiones Gotthofridum Boillionensem Saracenorum flagellum ab insigni fortitudine exquisitè collaudunt. Nec defuere Britanni uiri, tum eruditione, tum rerum cognitione præcellentes, qui Arturii nobilissimi, inuictissimique, genus, uilam, uirtutem, felici-*
20 *tatem, famam denique, sollicita, at iusta interim diligentia, orbi testatissima reliquerint. Applausit eruditorum consensus multis iam sæculis tam celebri præstantissimorum Ducum memoriæ, et res ab eis gestas magno quidem cum studio, maiori uero uoluptate, et admiratione plane maxima lectilat. Historiæ de Arturio*
25 *scriptæ nota a nescio quo Gulielmo Paruo Nouoburgensi, homine, ut ego iudico, magis pio, quam in Britannica antiquitate erudito, temere, et præter commune iudicium omne, inusta est: qui cum post ducentos, et quinquaginta annos in manus Polydori Vergilii incidisset, ita in præfatione historiæ quam de Nortomannis Angliæ*
30 *regibus scripsit, in Arturium rheloricatus, aut potius cornicatus est, ut Italum persuasione noua, sed uiolenta, uirum alioqui probum,*

et eruditum in suam pertraxerit hæresim, et pertractum, ne alio dilaberetur, tam adamantinis arcte constrinxerit uinculis, ut illum coegerit, ædila etiam historia, gloriam, nomenque, si diis placet, Arturii, tanquam solem, de medio tollere. Vnde et graue quidem iam bellum non modo a Gulielmo Paruo, uerum etiam a Polydoro 5 Galfredi Monæmuthensis manibus indictum est, hac præcipue calumnia, quod is primus assertor gloriæ Arturii, Arturius et ipse, esse uideatur. Durum me Hercle, et impium cum manibus decertare. Quid enim nobis cum laruis? Nennius Britannus scriptor, ut illa ferebant tempora, non ignobilis, Arturii gloriam 10 luculenta celebrauit oratione. Vixit enim ille tempore inclinationis Britannici imperii: Tantum abest ut Arturius recentioris Galfredi Monæmuthensis sit inuentum, et fabula. Ut taceat Nennius, Theliesinus uates, Merlinus Caledonius, et Melchinus antiquioris notæ homines Arturii illustrem fecere mentionem. Certe nunquam 15 temere id imbibam, quod me a fide historiæ Arturii auertat: adeo uero non magni æstimo, aut Gulielmi Parui qualemcunque opinionem, aut Polydori in hac parte iudicium, cuius tamen alioqui eruditionem excolo, eloquentiam adprobo, ingenium suspicio, et in bonis denique artibus auctoritatem complector. Non hic de eloquentia, 20 non de orationis splendore, non de styli perspicuitate, sed de solida fide, et historiæ ueritate agitur, qua fretus ausim audacter pronunciare, neque enim est quod metuam umbras obuersanteis, olim fuisse, regnasse, atque adeo in precio stetisse magno Arturium. Mentiar, nisi palam, liquide, et manifeste testetur ingens nobilium 25 suis temporibus scriptorum numerus Arturii originem, uitam, res longe fortissime gestas, mortem, sepulchrum, denique inuentionem eius reliquiarum, unamque, et alteram, ac etiam tertiam earundem latissime famosam translationem: Quarum quæ ultima fuit, regnante Eadueârdo Longo Angliæ rege uictore fortunatissimo, facta est. Quo 30 tempore stipatus magna nobilium caterua præsens Arturii ossa præsentia, reuerato sepulchro, Aualonia uidit, et contrectauit, ut ex eius diplomate, cui syngrapham adfixit, luculente apparet. Quare ut orbis uniuersus posthac intelligat quanta, et quam præclara Arturii fama olim fuerit, non grauabor uel uniuersam eius uitam, 35 et quid ueteres de eo senserint autores, lucido quodam ordine perscribere. Sic enim lucem obscuris, antiquitati suum decus, uacillantibus præ ignorantia iustum robur, certitudinem controuersicæ, ueritati postremo suffragium dedisse uidebor. Tu Princeps

*maxime, uictorque felicissime nouo libello tuis alacriter in lucem
prodeunti auspiciis faue quæso, quo munere non modo præsentis
famam opusculi, una cum successu, promouebis, augebis,
5 ornabis, uerum etiam lætissimo mihi igniculos ad
alia quoque non inferiora propediem ædenda
excitabis. Nam et Cygnus meus
tuarum encomiastes uirtutum
ad te conuolare mirifice
cupit. Vale Regum
10 ornamentum
unicum.*

NOMENCLATVRA AVTORVM

quorum testimoniis præsens utitur libellus.

Externi.

<i>Lucanus.</i>	<i>Samuel.</i>
<i>Iuuenalis.</i>	<i>Beda Girouicanus.</i>
<i>Martialis.</i>	<i>Afferius Meneuensis.</i>
<i>Cornelius Tacitus.</i>	<i>Gulielmus Meildunensis.</i>
<i>Paulus Diaconus.</i>	<i>Galfridus Monemuthensis.</i>
<i>Claudius Gallus.</i>	<i>Aluredus Fibroleganus.</i>
<i>Ioannes Annæuillanus.</i>	<i>Henricus Venantodunensis.</i>
<i>Valerius.</i>	<i>Josephus Ifcanus.</i>
<i>Boccatius.</i>	<i>Syluester Giraldus.</i>
<i>Diuionensis.</i>	<i>Matthæus Parisius</i>
<i>Ponticus Virunnius.</i>	<i>Ioan: chrysfistoriographus.</i>
	<i>Gulielmus Paruus.</i>
	<i>Ioannes Fiberius.</i>

Britannici.

<i>Theliesinus.</i>	<i>Thomas Vicanus.</i>
<i>Ambrosius Maridunensis.</i>	<i>Ranulphus Higedenus.</i>
<i>Merlinus Caledonius.</i>	<i>Matthæus Florilegus.</i>
<i>Melchius.</i>	<i>Ioannes Burgenfis.</i>
<i>Patricius Glessoburgenfis.</i>	<i>Thomas Meilorius.</i>
<i>Gildas Bannochorensis.</i>	<i>Scalechronica.</i>
<i>Anonymus.</i>	<i>Chronica Durenfis.</i>
<i>Nennius.</i>	<i>Chronica Glessoburgenfis.</i>
	<i>Chronica Perforana.</i>

Affertio incompara

Fol. 1.

BILIS ARTVRII:

autore Ioanne Lelando

Antiquario

HERCVLEM ex Alcmena adulterio Iouis fuisse natum, magno scriptorum Græcorum, & Latinorum consensu liquet. Qualis vero quantusque olim fuerit, arbitror vel mediocriter eruditis notius esse, quam ut in præsentia vlla prorsus egeat
5 insinuatione. Fuerunt & alii complures ex adulterio geniti, ut ex veteri abunde constat historia, quorum virtus domi, militiaeque eximie claruit. Inter quos & noster Arturius Britanniae ornamentum maximum, & sui seculi miraculum vnicum effloruit. Liceat mihi igitur cum bona gratia Gulielmi Parui, atque adeo
10 eius fortissimi Succenturionis Polydori Arturium conterraneum meum vel iustis prosequi laudibus: & eadem opera Britannicæ historiæ à Galfredo Monæmuthensi viro non omnino inerudito, quicquid alias calumnientur scioli antiquitatis ignari, interpretatæ præsidio inniti firmo, potius quam externorum ficulneo. Fa/bulis
15 vero, quæ in Arturii historiam inreperunt, non magis applaudo quam Polydorus censor. At ut perterritus alicuius vel senio, vel eloquentia, vel autoritate demum veritatis partes vecors, atque idem desertor indefensas relinquam, committam plane nunquam. Alio me æquum, honestum, famæ ratio, hinc &
20 amor patriæ iustus, ac ipsa veritas, qua nil mihi charius vna, perducunt. Sed neque bellum cum doctis mihi suscipiendum puto. Liberum interim per rationem erit, patriæ & veri maxime partes diligentia summa, industria expedita, labore alacri, consilio prompto, iudicio acri, denique modis omnibus erectissimas
25 facere. Aggrediar igitur, candidorum lectorum benevolentia,

Fol. 1
back.

humanitate, ac gratia fretus, Arturii originem ab ovo aliquanto accuratius reperere.

Est locus Abrini sinuoso littore ponti
Rupe situs media, refluus quem circuit æstus.
Fulminat hic late turrato vertice castrum
Nomine Tindagium veteres dixere Corini.

5

Constans fama est per ora multorum tradita, & scriptis confirmata etiam eruditorum, Gorloiden Coriniæ regulum hic sedem habuisse sibi, suisque. Erat ei Igerna vxor scæmina formæ plane venustissimæ, at pudicitia improbatæ. Huc sepiuscule recreandi animi gratia Vtherius rex Britannorum cognomine Pendraco, a serpentina, vt ego arbitror, prudentia sic dictus, cuius & Gorlois beneficiarius erat, diuertebat.

Architrenius libro, si recte computo, quinto hæc scribit.

Hoc trifido mundum Corinei postera sole
Irradiat pubes, quartique puerpera Phœbi
Pullulat Arturum, facie dum falsus adulter
Tintagol inrumpit, nec amoris Pendragon æstum
Vincit, & omnificas Merlini consulit artes,
Mentiturque ducis habitus, & rege latenti,
Induit absentis præsentia Gorlois ora.

15

Fol. 2.

20

Consuetudo, familiaritas, conuictus amor igniculos subministrabant. Et quoniam, vt inquit poeta quidam. Lis est cum forma magna pudicitia: euicit libido continentiam. Vnde & postea Arturius, vna cum Anna virgine egregia genitus est. Illud non est omittendum quod refert Hector Boethius. Vtherium videlicet Gorloiden tandem ob Nathaleodem regulum contra Saxones pugnantem ab eo derelictum e medio tulisse, vel potius, vt Igerna liberius potiretur. Nomen vero Arturiorum Romanis nobile, iuxta ac familiare vel hinc fuisse dinoscitur quod Iuuenalis Poeta hæc Satyra .3. scribat: . Cedamus patria, viuant Arturius istic. Et Catulus. Samuel scriptor Britannicus Arcturium per Cappa pingit ad vrsam alludens, vt a Græco fonte etymon trahat. Non hic aut vitio, aut conuitio esse debet Arturio, quod pater adulter filium ad fortitudinem, felicitatem, & triumphos genitum reliquerit: quando per eum non fletit, quominus a legitimo nasceretur coniugio. Neque vsque adeo

25

30

35

refert quo parente quis procedat, modo is in virum aliquando
fortem probumque euadat.

Nam genus & proauos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra puto.

- 5 Immenſum quantum accreuit. puer uirtuti, & iam pater qui
viribus, conſilio, iudicio quoque non ſine gloria floruerat diem vitæ
obiit Verolamii, deſtinata ante | imperii dignitate filio notho, quod Fol. 2
legitimum non haberet. back.

Corona Arturii.

- 10 Britannica adſcribat hiſtoria Arturium inſulis regni decimo
quinto ætatis ſuæ anno initiatum fuiſſe a Dubritio vrbs Legio-
num epiſcopo. Ioannes Aureæ ſcriptor hiſtoriæ videtur octo-
decim adnumerare annos Arturio regiam ſedem conſcendenti.
Scalæchronica, cuius libri vt coniectura ducor, quidam Graius
15 autor fuit, aiunt Arturium coronæ. inſignia Ventæ accepiſſe.
Pictorum & Scottorum duo reguli Lotho, cui Anna ſoror
Aurelii Ambroſii regis Britannorum nupſerat, & Conranus cui
Ada ſoror Annæ. coniunx data fuerat, cœperunt tam lætis
Arturii ſucceſſibus inuidere : nam vterque, ſed præcipue Lotho,
20 ad Britannæ imperium aſpirabat. Hinc factum poſtea vt ille,
adiuncto ſibi Oſca, alias Occa homine impuriſſimo, bellum
Arturio intulerit. Tandem ad manus peruentum eſt, victuſque
Pictus peioreis partes tulit, partim Hoeli inuictiſſimi præſidio,
qui tunc ducem ibi agebat. Libellus de imperio Britannorum,
25 & Anglorum in Scottos beneficiarios adſcribat hanc victoriam
Eboraci ab Hoelo partam : vtque deuictis Scottis antiquas ſedes
precibus motus Arturius reliquerit ſub Auguſello ſuo, quem eis
regulum præfecit. Nec fors melior Saxones excepit, interfecto
Colgrino duce, Baldrico autem, & Cheldrico fugientibus.
30 Victoriam ſecuta eſt concordia. Lotho ſe Britanno deditit.
Mordredus, & Galloquinus filii Lothonis ex Anna, fauorem Fol. 3.
Arturii miris ambiebant modis, & tandem familiares illi facti
ſunt. Duxerat interea Arturius Guenheram Cadori Corinienſis
alumnam. raræ, formæ ſceminam. Deinde & Saxones belliſ-
35 cruentiſſimis contudit.

Duodecim bella ab Arturio gesta.

Nennius Britannus bonæ, & antiquæ fidei scriptor inter alios multos luculentissimam eius bellorum mentionem facit: cuius verba quanvis librariorum incuria, & temporis iniuria aliquantulum luxata sint, tamen, quia ad rem præsentem plurimum faciunt, & venerandam quandam secum adferunt antiquitatem, lubet hic apponere, & suo ordine. Arturius pugnavit contra illos, videlicet Saxones, cum regulis Britonum: Sed ipse Dux erat. Primum bellum fuit in ostio fluminis Glein, alias Gledy. Secundum, tertium, quartum, & quintum super aliud flumen quod vocatur Dugles, quod est in regione Linueis. Sextum super flumen quod vocatur Bassas. Septimum fuit in sylva Caledonis, id est Catcoit celidon. Octauum in castello Guinion. Nouum bellum gestum est in vrbe Legionis. Decimum in littore quod vocatur Traitheurith, alias Rhydrhwyd. Vndecimum in monte, qui dicitur Agned cathregonion. Duodecimum in monte Badonis in quo multi corruerunt vno impetu Arturii. Hactenus Nennius. Ioannes aureæ scriptor historiæ hæc eadem de bellis duodecim aduersus Saxones comprobatur. Aluredus etiam Fibroleganus historicus similia narrat. Atque adeo hæc sunt Henrici Venantodunensis verba .2. historiæ suæ libro. Arturius belliger illis temporibus Dux militum, & regulum Britanniae contra Saxones fortissime pugnabat. Duodecies dux belli fuit: duodecies victor. Et ibidem. Hæc autem bella, & loca bellorum narrat quidam historiographus. Videtur hic Venantodunensis incidisse in Nennii historiolum, cuius nomen exemplari, vt videtur, non erat adscriptum. Hinc silentium illud. Neque erat libellus ille id temporis in manibus frequens, & nostra hac ætate plane rarissimus. Tantum tria eius exemplaria me vidisse memini. Ioannes Rhesus antiquitatis amator, atque idem sedulus illustrator habet libellum Gilde titulo inscriptum, qui quantum ego, ex eius oratione colligo, non Gildam, sed Nennium parentem habuit. Elenchus bibliothecæ Bellici monasterii Gildæ historiam inter suos numerabat thesauros. Sedulo quæsitus a me liber, at non inuentus tamen. Fama prædicabat exemplar Brecheniacum translatum fuisse. Hæc obiter inferui. Nunc repetenda bella. Scriptor non inelegans vite D. Dubritii archiepiscopi vrbis Legionum talia commemorat. Perempto

tandem per venenum Aurelio rege, & regnante paucis annis
 Vthero eius fratre, Arturius filius eius, ope Dubritii succcessit:
 qui Saxones audacter pluribus præliis aggressus est, nec tamen
 illos a regno funditus extirpare potuit. Subiugauerant enim
 5 sibi Saxones totam partem insule, quæ ab Humbro flumine
 usque ad Cattenesinum æquor protenditur. Ea propter conuo-
 catis regni primatibus, quid potissimum contra paganorum
 Saxonum irruptionem faceret, consuluit. Comuni tandem con- Fol. 4.
 filio mittit ad Armoricam, id est minorem Britanniam ad
 10 Hoelum regem nuncios, qui ei calamitatem Britannie notam
 facerent. Qui cum quindecim millibus armatorum Britanniam
 ueniens ab Arturio, & D. Dubritio honorifice susceptus ad urbem
 Lindocollinum a Saxonibus obsessam proficiscentes, commisso
 bello, sex millia Saxonum vel submersi, vel telis percussu perie-
 15 runt. Cæteri uero ad nemus Caledonis fugientes a Britannis
 obfessi ad deditionem coacti sunt: & susceptis obsidibus de
 tributo annuatim soluendo cum solis nauibus eos patriam re-
 petere permisit. Elapso paruo deinde tempore, peractæ pac-
 tionis Saxones puduit, & viribus reparatis sædus suum irritum
 20 fecerunt, urbemque Badonis obsidione vallant, quæ nunc Bathonia
 dicitur: quo audito Arturius congregato exercitu, conspectis
 hostium castris, sic alloquitur. Quoniam impiissimi Saxones
 fidem mihi obseruare dedignantur, ego fidem Deo meo feruans
 sanguinem ciuium meorum vlcisci conabor. Proditores ergo
 25 istos viriliter aggrediamur, quos procul dubio,¹ suffragante² Christo,
 cum votiuo triumpho³ deuincemus: Et irruens in Saxonum
 cuneos adiutus Dubritii precibus multa milia prosternendo
 victoriam obtinuit, & paucos, qui stragem aufugerant, ad dedi-
 tionem coegit. Boccatus in libro de stagnis, & paludibus sic
 30 scribit. Murais stagnum est Arturii Britonum regis victoria
 clarum. Aiunt enim Scottos, Pictos, & Hibernienses ab eodem
 in stagno obfessos, in deditionem coactos. Idem libro octauo
 de viris illustribus illustrem Arturii facit mentionem, religione
 quadam ductus, ne tantum, talemque virum in|grato præteriret Fol. 4
 35 silentio. Neque hic a nostro aliena instituto sunt, quæ in back.
 chronicis cuiusdam Diuionensis comparent. Cerdicius cum
 Arturio confligens sæpius, si vno mense vinceretur, in alio
 mense acrior surrexit ad pugnam. Tandem Arturius tædio

¹ Text, *dudio*.² Text, *suffragante*.³ Text, *tiumpo*.

fatigatus poſt duodecimum annum aduentus Cerdicii, fidelitate
 ſibi iurata, dedit ei Auoniam meridianam, & Somariam, quam
 partem vocauit Cerditius Viſſaxoniam. Gulielmus a Meildulphi
 curia ſcriptor tum elegans, tum eruditus, & quod in hiſtoria
 primum fideliffimus, hæc de Arturio primo de regibus Britannicis
 libro inferit. Et iam tum profecto peſſum iſſent, Britannos in-
 telligit, niſi Ambroſius ſolus Romanorum ſuperſtes, qui poſt
 Vortigernum monarcha fuit, regni intumeſcenteis barbaros
 eximia bellicoſi Arturii opera preſiſſit. Huc etiam pertinere
 videntur ¹ hæc, quæ in Gildæ Britanni fragmentis ad hunc legun-
 tur modum. Vires capeſſunt Britanni victores prouocantes ad
 prælium, quibus victoria, Domino annuente, ex voto ceſſit.
 Ex eo tempore nunc ciues, nunc hoſtes vincebant, vt in iſta
 gente experiretur Dominus ſolito more præſentem Iſrahelem,
 vtrum eum diligat, an non, vſque ad annum obſeſſionis Badonici
 montis, nouiſſimeque ferme de furciferis non minimæ ſtragis, qui
 & meæ natiuitatis eſt. Hæc ille. Ecce adest calumniator, &
 feroculus a me rationem exigit, cur Gildas Arturii, ſi tum fuit, hic
 non meminerit. Ad hæc reſpondeo me inferius de Gilda dicturum.
 Interea meminerit aduerſarius Gildam tempore Badonici belli
 infantulum fuiſſe: quo nomine, & eius res geſtæ, aut non ab eo,
 aut leuiter admodum intellectæ. Gulielmus a Meildulphi | curia
 paulo ſuperius ita honorificum contulit Arturio teſtimonium, vt
 parum abſuerit, quin, ſi non ſuperiorem, æqualem cum Ambroſio
 ſtatuert. Nennius uero non malæ fidei autor tantum præſtitit in
 gratiam Aurelii Ambroſii, quantum Gildas in Arturii: nempe vt
 illius omiſſo nomine, huic, & merito decus omne Badonici belli
 integre attribuat. Sed neque hi ſoli hoc præſtant. Numerus eſt
 bonorum autorum, qui idem autoritate quadam iuſta confirmant:
 Niſi interim tam iniquus ſit cenſor, vt nihil admittat, quantumuis
 fidele, quod non ſpiret Ciceronianum, aut Liuianum, cum ipſe
 potius interim ſpiret neſcio quid Aemilianum, id quod mihi non
 displicebit, vbi eum hoc ingenue fateri intellexero. Interea
 recitabo Ioannis, qui auream ſcripſit hiſtoriam, de Arturio teſti-
 monium. Hoc anno decimo Cerdicii regis Viſſaxonum ſurrexit
 apud Britones Arturius belliger.

Fol. 5.

¹ Text, *videntur*.

Arturii in Gallos expeditio.

Britannicæ historiæ liber sextus fufe loquitur de rebus ab
 Arturio in Gallia gestis : quam non ante petiit, quam maturo, vt
 tum quidem videbatur, consilio Britannicæ immunitati prospexerat.
 5 Erat ei nepos quidam Mordredus nomine, filius Lothonis Pictorum
 regis, & Annæ sororis Aurelii Ambrosii regis Britannicæ. Huic,
 quia ei sanguine, & familiaritate fuerat coniunctissimus, omne
 regnum suum, vna cum Guenhera suauissima coniuge concedidit.
 Erat enim Mordredus fortitudinis nomine commendatissimus, Fol. 5
 10 tum præterea ingenio acri, & gerendis rebus expedito : quas back.
 virtutes, nisi libidine dominandi flagrantissima, sed interim prin-
 cipio ob metum tacita, & adulterii nota obscurasset, merito quidem
 inter clarissimos viros numerandus esset. Iam Galliam Arturius
 inuaserat, & debellatis regulis virtutis suæ specimen vel illustre
 15 ostenderat. Ecce adfuit tyrannus immanis, truculentus, ferox,
 qui Helenam neptem Hoeli Armoricani raptam, & ex Britannia
 abductam, ad littus Gallicum vitiauerat, vnde & obiit. Non
 tulit Arturius tam insignem Helenæ factam contumeliam, &
 statim tyranni iugulum petiit, ac monstrum ingens, horrendumque
 20 e medio sustulit. Nec multo post ab Hoelo erectus Helenæ
 sacer tumulus in insula qua periit, & Tumba Helenæ loco nomen
 apte inditum, quod vel hodie seruat, Chronica Diuionensis
 scriptoris magna Arturium laude in Gallia militantem huiusmodi
 verbis attollunt. Arturius per nouem annos Galliam sibi sub-
 25 iugauit, commissio regno, & regina sua Mordredo nepoti suo.
 Ille vero regnare appetens, sed solum Cerdicium timens dedit
 ei vt sibi faueret septem alias prouincias Sudofaxoniam, Sudor-
 heiam, Berrochiam, Vilugiam, Duriam, Deuoniam, & Coriniam.
 Cerdicius autem his consentiens suas prouincias accitis Anglis
 30 instaurauit, & coronatus est more gentili apud wintoniam.
 Mordredus vero super Britones apud Londinium. Et ita
 Cerdicius cum regnasset tribus annis obiit, manente ad huc
 Arturio in Galliis. Cui successit Kinrichus, cuius anno septimo
 Arturius rediit. Hactenus e chronicis. Habent, quæ modo
 35 citauimus, non solum suam antiquitatem, verum etiam fidem, & Fol. 6.
 serie quadam historiæ consonant. Vtque triumphis Arturii de
 Gallis aliquanto indulgentius faueam multa præterea sunt, quæ
 ego studio plane quodam omitto. Illud tamen tanquam in

transcursu attingendum est, constare ex inscriptione sigilli Arturii magni, de qua nos suo loco accurate dicemus, eum aliquando Gallici cognomento insignitum fuisse. Neque enim hoc sine luculenta vñquam factum causa. Nam de sigilli & antiquitate, & cognitione vel certissima, adeo plane non dubito, vt 5 certe confidam, adsint modo iudices candidi, & veterum monumentorum gnari, conspicuis probaturum me rationibus genuinum esse illud, & ab archetypo profectum. Quin hæc rectius suo loco. Tantum in præsentia adiciam Valerium quendam triginta regnorum ab Arturio deuictorum meminisse. Nam eo sæculo 10 ingens regulorum turba insulas, vna cum Gallia, & Germania sub ditione tenebant.

Pugiles Arturio familiares.

Expectaret hic forsitan aliquis, vt & Arturii contra Romanos victorias, quarum & Britannica meminit historia, tuba magna 15 personarem. Historici in hac parte certant, & adhuc sub iudice lis est. Ego vero temere nihil pronuntiabo: quandoquidem manifestissime constat, obscura, & absurda inrepsisse in Arturii historiam: id quod a curiosis facile deprehenditur. At hæc non satis quidem iusta causa est, ut | quis historiam alias luculentam, 20 & veram negligat abiiciat, proterat. Quanto rectius, abiectis nugis, resectis anilibus fabulis, & auctariis in speciem vero magnificis, at nihil ad fidem pertinentibus, demptis, quæ ex autoritate consonantia sunt legere, discutere, conseruare. Nam quod longo iam tempore a doctis receptum magno consensu est: 25 non debet momento temporis quocunque oblatrante, vna cum fide e medio tolli. Aliter in tanto hactenus non stetisset honore historia. Ergo quia maioris operis est, quam in præsentia agimus, exquisitè, curiose, & ad unguem facta Arturii omnia excutere,¹ omittamus tantisper Romanos, & familiares illius 30 calamo illustremus. Hoelus Armoricæ regulus in hoc celebri nobilium choro proximum a primo locum iure quodam suo poscit, de cuius in Britanniam aduentu, & virtute bellica superius in titulo de bellis ab Arturio gestis scripsimus. Huc accedunt Mordredus, & Gallouinus germani fratres Arturio sanguine, 35 & consuetudine coniuncti: quorum ille tandem veluti perfidus, atque idem desertor nunquam satis vituperandus, vt de nota

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¹ Text, *excutele*.

adulterii nihil loquar, occisus est bello, Hectore parum vero teste, Abrino, at, ut ego cum iudicio colligo, rectius Alaunico. Hic autem perpetuo sui similis, fidelissimam operam praestitit cum bellis externis omnibus, tum praecipue in Dorensi conflictu, sub
 5 reditum Arturii ex Gallia in Britanniam, qui illi contra Mordredum supremus fuit. Melchinus vates Britannicus Gallouini celebrat nomen. Idem facit Ioannes Annæuillanus in suo Architrenio, non ineleganti opere, his verbis.

Et Vualganus ego, qui nil reminiscor aua.
 10 Illoculasse manu: non hæc mea fulgurat auro,
 Sed gladio dextra: recipit quo spargat, & enses,
 Non loculos stringit: Nec opes in carcere miles
 Degener, & cupide cumulato rusticus ære.
 Et me bella vocant: et tua forsitan vrget
 15 Sollicitudo. Vale.

Fol. 7.

Historia quoque Arturii fabulosa quidem illa, quæ vulgo vernacula lingua scripta circumfertur, adfirmat Gallouinum Dori in facello quodam sepultum fuisse. Qua parte qualiscunque liber, adeo non omnino fallit, ut idem Scalæchronicon aperte referat:
 20 & castellani eius ossa pene Gigantea etiam nunc miraculi ostentent loco. Quodque olim tempore Lucii magni facellum in Durenfi castro, prædicantibus Fugatio, & Damiano Britannis euangelium, Seruatori Christo optimo maximo positum sit, ex eiusdem urbis annalibus uenerandam antiquitatis præ se ferentibus
 25 imaginem, liquido apparet. Ut sit receptissimum, iuxta ac verissimum quod supra de Gallouini & cæde, & sepultura intuli: non tamen per me stabit, ut Gulielmi a Meildulphi curia iudicium de morte, & sepultura Gallouini, nunquam satis a fortitudine collaudati, aut intercidat, aut emoriatur. Quare operæ pretium
 30 duco illius verba ex tertio libro de regibus Anglicis hic apponere, ut hinc prudens lector, veluti ad Lydium lapidem verifulgorem genuinum ab adulterino curiose excutiat. Tunc in prouincia walliarum, quæ Rofsia vocatur inuentum est waluuini sepulchrum, qui fuit haud degener Arturii ex forore nepos. Regnavit in ea
 35 parte Britanniae, quæ ad huc waluuithia vocatur miles virtute nominatissimus, sed a fratre, & nepote Hengisti, de quibus in primo libro dixi, regno expulsus, prius multo eorum detrimento
 exilium compensans suum: communicans merito laudi auunculi,

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quod ruentis patriæ casum plures annos distulerit. Sed Arturii sepulchrum nusquam visitur, vnde antiquitas Nēniarum ad huc eum venturum fabulatur. Cæterum alterius bustum, vt præmisi tempore Gulielmi primi regis Angliæ repertum est super oram maris quatuordecim pedes longum, vbi a quibusdam, vt asseritur, 5 ab hostibus vulneratus, & naufragio eiectus: a quibusdam dicitur a ciuibus in publico epulo interfectus. Sic Meildunensis de Gallouino. Ego vero si mihi liceret tyroni cum Meildunensi veterano ad dandos repellendosque ictus exercitatissimo his telis cominus cum eo periculum virium facerem. Non est verisimile 10 homines giganteæ altitudinis, vt ex sepulchro quatuordecim pedes longo colligo, fuisse sæculo Gallouiniano. Quare, mea quidem sententia, credibile magis sepulchrum alicuius gigantis indigenę fuisse. Nanque¹ taleis Albionem primum incoluisse, & externorum, & nostrorum scriptorum autoritate constat. 15 Quorum vnus, Iosephi scilicet Domnoniensis Britanni poetæ omnibus numeris elegantissimi fidem secutus, desumptis his paucis versibus ex eius Antiocheide opere immortalis, testimonio breuitatis studio vtar.

His Brutus auito

Sanguine Troianus Latiis egressus ab oris

Post varios casus confedit finibus, orbem

Fatalem nactus, debellatorque gigantum,

Et terræ victor nomen dedit.

20

Architrenius libro sexto de gigantibus Albionis hæc refert. 25

Hos audum belli Corinei robur auerno

Præcípites misit: cubitis ter quattuor altum

Gogmagog Herculeæ suspendit in aere lucta,

Anthæumque suum scopulo detruxit in æquor.

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Nec me fugit castellum olim fuisse nomine Gallouinum in littore, 30 de quo supra Meildunensis, cuius vel ad huc vestigia comparent. Sed illud non fuit sedes gigantis, vt neque forsan Gallouini Arturiani, sed recentioris alicuius subreguli eiusdem nominis. Quod autem refert de sepulchro Arturii eo tempore verissimum est. Nemo homo vnquam curiosius illo excusserat omnes bibliothecæ 35 Gleffoburgensis thesauros. Hoc tantum hic defuit ei ad cognitionem, quod Arturii sepulchrum ignorauerit moriens circa primos

¹ Sic.

² Text, *Corineus*.

annos Henrici secundi¹ regis Angliæ, cum sepulchrum postea
 inuentum sit principio imperii Richardi Leonii. Quin in gratiam de
 qua nec adhuc aperte excidi redeo cum Gulielmo Meildunenfi,
 per quem, virum suo sæculo in omni genere bonarum literarum
 5 plane eruditissimum, & in eruenda antiquitate ingenio, diligentia,
 cura singularem, fateor, & quidem ingenue me in cognitione
 antiquitatis frequenter adiutum fuisse. Candoris plane est agno-
 scere per quem profeceris. Labet hic ad coronidem addere
 notationem, quam ipse ex lingua Britannica colligo, nominis
 10 Gallouini. Walle Gallum significat. Guin album, perinde ac si
 quis hoc vocabulo virum bellum, elegantem, & forma con-
 spicuum designaret, nisi quis rectius putet a Saxonica barbarie
 originem sumpsisse. Waulwine Gallus amicus, vt Leofwine
 charus amicus. Aldwine vetus amicus. Instat Augufellus de
 15 quo pauca superius, qui in tam flagrant|ti apud Arturium gratia Fol. 8
 fuit, vt merito Scottis regulus beneficiarius præfectus sit. back.
 Retulit ille par pari. Accitus inter alios multos principes, vt se
 Arturio comitem in expeditione Gallica præstaret, adeo iniun-
 ctam sibi prouinciam non recusauit, vt magno virtutis exemplo ibi
 20 ædito, maius multo in Rutupino littore domum rediens, bello
 ciuili Mordredo victo, & fugato ipse inter arma cadens, sanguine,
 & vita exhiberet, vt testis minime malus est autor Scalæchroni-
 corum, vti ego arbitror, Graius. Et quoniam de euocatione
 principum Arturio audientium superius verba fecimus, iuuat hic
 25 significare multas, & celebres ab eo fuisse indictas. At illa
 omnium celeberrima, quæ in Isca, alias vrbe Legionum enituit,
 quo tempore ad arma in Gallos conclamatum est. Quid musis
 cum Marte? profecto aut parum, aut nihil. Si iusta esset tamen
 inter eos consuetudo exorarent Martem vt sua causa magnas,
 30 merito gratias agerent Arturio, qui mystrarum chorum eruditum
 in Legionum vrbe, si vera referunt Galfredus, Ioannes Burgenfis,
 & Rossus Verouicenis, aut restaurauit, aut instituit. Hoc interim
 constat ex Anonymi historia Amphibalum, Iulium, & Aarona
 martyres Christum, atque adeo literas in vrbe Legionum coluisse,
 35 a quibus & alios easdem per manus accepisse credibile est. Est
 in Archiuis etiam Grantæ Giruorum tabula diplomatis ab
 Arturio aliquando erogati in gratiam studioforum. Fidem
 tamen facti non dum satis excusui. Iderus olim cultor Arturianæ

¹ Text, *sefecundi*.

Fol. 9.

aulæ maximus ad pugilum numerum accedit. Hic Arturio sanguine coniunctus virtutis fortia exempla multa exhibuit: & lateri Principis sui perpetuo adhæsit, ac demum, | nescio quo casu, moriens maximum sui desiderium Arturio reliquit, qui & eius sollicitè funus Aualoniæ curauit. Legi Glessoburgi libellum de antiquitate eiusdem, a monacho quodam illius loci diligentissime collectum, in quo de officiis Arturii erga hunc mortuum, & munificentia eiusdem ob cognati causam in Eremitas monachos ibidem incolenteis, multa explicat. Appendebat nuper tabula columnę Glessoburgenſi ecclesiæ, quæ Iderum inter patronos, & restauratores Glessoburgenſis ecclesiæ numerabat. Lancelotus fama notissimus locum inter Pugiles vel clarissimos sibi dari postulat: cui ego voto facile annuo, hoc in eius dicturus præconium, quod insigni quodam candore erga Arturium adfectus sit. Virtus eius abunde enituit eo prælio, quod inter Mordredum proditorem, & Arturium gestum est. Superfuit vero pugnæ, & vt semel, atque iterum legi transtulit Guenheræ, a morte Arturii velatæ, corpus ab Ambrosii curia ad Glessoburgum. Ceterum Giraldus vno, aut altero loco videtur integre eius sepulturam, vt in Speculo ecclesiastico, & in opere de Institutione Principis, Glessoburgo attribuire. Quanquam magis mihi arridet, vt primum Ambrosiæ tumultum acceperit. Caradocus nobilæ virtutis bellicæ nomen Gallicana expeditione Arturium secutus est, & domum rediens in ora Rutupina bello vt videtur ciuili interfectus est. Annales Durenſis portus opus antiquitatem redolens meminere Carodoci. Castellani ibidem vel hodie Caradoci memoriam refricant iactantes penes se esse nescio quas eius exuias. Nec sic contenti Arturii aulam, & Guenheræ cubiculum deprædicant. Iam illustrium bellatorum Arturianæ turmæ numerus se ingerit: sed ego, modo id fiat sine eorum offensa, quia præstantissimos tantum nominandos, & collaudandos suscepi, reliquos, laudatos alioqui, præterire studii, ac postremum adiungere Cadorum Corinianum illum. Is fuit de nobilissimo stemmate regum Britanniæ, & genti ad Corinum promontorium imperabat. Titulorum sui Principis defensor sane acerrimus fuit, perpetuamque necessitudinem cum Britannis continentis habuit. Postremum moriens filium reliquit Constantinum, qui mortuo Arturio Britanniæ præficitur. Is ne Mordredi proditoris filii alumni, et nepotes Gallouini aliquando, paternum imitati

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exemplum, regno aspirarent, gladio iugulandos curauit. Factum vero aut hoc, aut simile narrat Gildas Britannus his verbis. Cuius tam nefandi piaculi non ignarus est immundæ leenæ Damonæ tyrannicus catulus Constantinus, qui hoc anno post
 5 horribile iuramenti sacramentum, quo se deiunxit, nequaquam
 dolos ciuibus Deo primum, iureque iurando sanctorum demum
 choris, & genitrice comitantibus, facturum, in duarum veneran-
 dis matrum sinibus, ecclesiæque carnalis sub sancto abbate
 Amphibalo latera regionum tenerrima puerorum, vel præcordia
 10 crudeliter duum, totidemque nutritorum, inter ipsa, vt dixi sacro-
 sancta altaria nefando ense, hastaque pro dentibus lacerauit,
 quorum brachia nequaquam armis, quæ nullus pene hominum
 fortius hoc eis tempore tractabat, sed Deo, altarique portenta in
 die iudicii ad tuæ ciuitatis portas Christe veneranda patientiæ, ac
 15 fidei suæ vexilla supendent. Hactenus de pugilibus.

Orbicularis Arturii mensa.

Fol. 10.

Nunc locus est peropportunuus¹ pauca sed electa, splendida,
 denique magnifica de orbiculari mensa, & epulis Arturii in
 medium adferre. Non hæc patebat omnibus nobilibus, sed
 20 illis tantum,

Lucida quos ardens euexit ad æthera virtus,

Virtus sola virens nullis moritura diebus.

Hanc ut ferunt pompam frequentiuscule celebrauit præcipue
 vero in vrbe Legionum, quem locum insigniter coluit. Idem
 25 fecit Ventæ Simenorum, & Camaleti Murotrigum. Vulgus
 scriptorum indoctum illud arbitratur Ventam alio nomine Càma-
 letum dici. Quin vulgi iudicium non moror. Fama publica
 Murotrigum radices Camaletici montis incolentium prædicat,
 attollit, canticat nomen Arturii incolæ aliquando castrî, quod
 30 idem olim, & magnificentissimum, & munitissimum, atque in
 æditissima specula, vbi mons confurgit, situm est. Dii boni
 quantum hic profundissimarum fossarum? Quot hic egestæ
 terræ valla? Quæ demum præcipitia? Atque vt paucis
 finiam, videtur mihi quidem esse & artis, & naturæ miraculum.

35 At seges est vbi Troia fuit stabulatur in vrbe,
 Et fossis pecudes altis, valloque tumentî,
 Taxus, & astutæ posuere cubilia vulpes.

¹ Sic.

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Atque hæc quidem humanarum viciffitudo rerum eft. Hanc calamitatem hinc Ifcalis vrbs antiqua: hinc Clarus fons frequens emporium mœftis infpiciunt oculis, lachrimifque indulgent. Incolæ interealoci folum a/ratro vertunt, & annis fingulis numifmata aurea, argentea, ærea Romanorum imagines tantum 5 non viuas exprimentia, quærentes inueniunt, ex quibus & ego pauca dono ab eis accepi. Francifcus Haftingius Comes Venantodunenſis nobilium iuuenum regiæ Britannicæ ornamentum egregium, & alumnus olim in bonis literis meus Camaleti rudera una cum latifundiis vicinis, vtpote hæres 10 Piperellorum, Boterellorum, & Hungrefordorum poſidet. Ioannes Anſuillanus in Architrenio ſphæricam pro dignitate ſua collaudat menſam. Idem facit & Volateranus libro tertio Geographie his verbis. Domi quoque luculentus menſa inter proceres utebatur rotunda, ne quod his diſcrimen ex ambitione foret. Ventæ 15 Simenorum in caſtro fama notiſſimo appendet muro aulæ regiæ menſa, quam & rotundam a maiſtate Arturiana vocant. Quid? quod nec memoria, nec ſocietas Orbicularis chori recentioribus ſæculis ex animis nobilium, excidit. Eadueardus Longus, vt fama refert, Orbicularem illam ſocietatem plurimi fecit, fabricata 20 in eos uſus, ſi credere dignum eſt, tabula ſphærica, & tripodibus ex auro ſolido. Sunt qui ſcribant Mortimarium quendam hos theſauros decoxiſſe. Illud interim certiſſimum ex hiſtoria Thomæ Vicanii, Rogerum Mortimarium celebraſſe conuiuium maximum Keneluorti, quo pugiles præſtantiſſimos, tanquam chorum 25 Arturianum¹ ad ſphæricum illud inſigne magnanimus euocauit: hinc virtutis ſigna equeſtris plurima quidem ædita, quæ ſedula poſteritas chartis commiſſa auide leget. Sed nunc tantiſper ab armis ad pietatem tranſeo.

Pietas Arturii.

30

Fol. 11.

Quanta, & quam ſyncera religione adfectus ſit erga rem publicam Chriſtianam Arturius, autoritate veterum ſcriptorum liquet. Uſus eſt Dubritii epiſcopi vrbis Legionum, viri cum eruditione, tum vitæ continentia ſingularis, familiaritate, vſque adeo vt in bello Badonico eius preces victor vtileis perſenſerit. 35 Daud præterea Meneuenſis homo ſanctitatis plane infinitæ Arturii tum gratiam, tum munificentiam ſenſiit, vſque adeo, vt

¹ Text, *Artutianum*.

Meneuenses translata[m] ad se ab vrbe Legionum episcopalem
 sedem Arturio acceptam referant. Horum æqualis Iltutus vir
 vitæ incomparabilis, audita eius singulari illa magnificentia, & in
 Deum pietate, ausus est, vt eius vitæ illustrator scribit, præfens
 5 præsentem non modo inuifere, verum etiam salutare, atque adeo
 conuenire Arturium, qua pia plane audacia tantum abest, vt
 Principem offenderit, vt gratias abunde magnas præmium me
 hercle candidum retulerit. Deiparam virginem afsidue coluit,
 cuius & imaginem, si vera antiqui scriptores, et fama constans
 10 referunt, depictam habuit Martio illo clypeo, quo multis in preliis,
 & maxime in Badonico vfus est. In eiusmodi minutis non
 admodum laboro. Illud interim piis non indignum auribus
 quod Samuel scriptor Britannus, & Elbodi episcopi discipulus,
 qui annis ab hinc pene nongentis floruit, expeditionis, aut
 15 peregrinationis potius Arturii sic meminerit. Arturius Hieroso-
 limam petiit, vnde & crucis signum ex ligno secum tulit instar
 salutiferæ, cuius ad huc fragmenta feruantur in wedale uilla
 Lodoneiæ sex milli[b]us pafuum a Mailros. Denique Gleffoburgen- Fol. 11
 ses monachos heremitas illos infinitis excoluit modis, vt partim back.
 20 superius in Idero, & hic fufius ostendam. Syluefter Giraldus
 in Principis institutione sic scribit. Præ cunctis enim ecclesiis
 regni fui S. Dei genitricis Marie Glesconiensis ecclesiam plus
 dilexit, & præ ceteris longe maiori deuotione promouit. Poly-
 dorus pro suo iure, atque adeo autoritate pronunciat non fuisse
 25 monasterium Aualoniæ tempore Arturii: tam exquisitus censor
 est antiquitatis & maxime Britannicæ. Contendit etiam vel
 orbem vniuerfum hac lege, sed plane iniquissima, constringere,
 vt quod ab eo de antiquitate, tanquam e tripode dictum ample-
 ctantur, foueant, ac fufpiciant. Vt vera dicat, ac scribat ego facilæ
 30 affurgam ense leuis nudo, parmaque inglorius alba, illius &
 autoritati, & iudicio vtpote veterani. At vt falsa pronuntiet, id
 quod frequentiuscule per omnes historiæ suæ partes facit, non
 feram, non sinam, non patiar, quin veritatem, rumpantur vt ilia
 Codris omnibus, suo nitori, fame, gloriæ alacer, & intrepidus,
 35 quantum per me steterit, restituam. Nam me huic sententiæ
 in hac partæ honestissimæ vt fortiter inhæream gesta ab ipsis
 Britannorum apostolis Fugatio, & Damiano, & epistola Patricii
 Magni, quæ penes me est eadem confirmans, vt multorum
 aliorum testimonia breuitatis causa omittam, iubent, aut potius

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imperant. Henricus Plantagenista Henrici Belloclerici regis Angliæ ex Mathilde filia nepos præscriptis, & liquidis verbis adfirmat in donatione quadam se vidisse, atque, ne quid ad fidem desit integram, legisse tabulas cuiusdam munificentiae Arturii erga monachos heremitas Avaloniam | incolenteis. Quin ipsa Henricianæ donationis verba ex archetypo subscribam. Quæcunque etiam a prædecessoribus meis Gulielmo primo, Gulielmo secundo, & Henrico auo meo. Sed ab antiquioribus videlicet Eadgaro patre S. Eadueardi, ab Eadmundo, & patre ipsius Eadueardo, & Ealfredo auo eiusdem. Brinwalchio. Kenwino, Baldredo, Ina, Cuthredo, & Arturio, & multis aliis regibus Christianis. Sed & a Kenwalchio rege pagano, quorum privilegia, & chartas diligenter feci inquire, & coram me presentari, & legi. Hactenus diploma. Hi tam certæ fidei testes si non satis ad excussissimam veritatis cognitionem faciunt, nihil profecto vnquam faciet. Nam his auditis, & percognitis non adquiescere, nec fani capitis, sed neque iudicii erit.

*Sigillum Arturi.*Fol. 12
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Et quoniam in sacrosanctæ antiquitatis penetralia, recessus, ac viscera curiosus indagator descendi, lubet in lucem aliud proferre, videlicet sigillum Arturii monumentum faberrime insculptum, antiquum, & venerandum, de quo Caxodunus, sed obiter, & leuiter in præfatione historiæ Arturianæ, quam vulgus lingua Anglica impressam legit, mentionem facit. Motus qualicunque Caxoduni testimonio Visimonasterium me contuli, vt, quæ auritus testis audiueram, oculatus tandem cernerem, illud animo expendens meo. Pluris valet oculatus testis vnus, quam auriti decem. Rogatus Mystagogus, vt ostenderet monumentum, statim uidendum, & contingendum exhibuit. Perplacuit spectaculum antiquitatis, & aliquandiu sua maiestate non modo mihi attraxit, uerum etiam detinuit oculos. Tanti momenti est commode incidisse in rem studio desideratam magno. Materia quæ ipsissimam sigilli formam impressam accepit, & ad huc fideliter retinet, cæra coloris rubri est, quæ uiolentia aliqua, uel temporis iniuria longi comminuta, in partes hinc inde diffinditur: ita tamen ut nulla prorsum desideretur. Nam fragmenta casu aliquo prius concussa, sic argentea lamina, quæ orbicularis

figuræ, qualis & sigilli facies, est, undique concluduntur, ut eorum pars recidat nulla. Inscribitur enim his titulis in speciem breuibus, sed re ipsa splendidissimis, amplissimis, magnificentissimis. PATRICIVS ARTVRIVS BRITANNIAE, GALLIAE, 5 GERMANIAE, DACIAE IMPERATOR. Atque hæc quidem inscriptio sigilli orbem extimum circinat. Anterior eius pars per circulum crystallinum pellucida est, quo remoto, tangi se patitur cæra iam præ antiquitate durissima. Effigies vero Arturii impressa refert nescio quam heroicam maiestatem. 10 Purpura enim regaliter indutus Princeps sedet super hemi-circulum, qualem videmus pluuium arcum. Capite coronato fulget. In dextera confurgit sceptrum ipso liliatum vertice. Sinistra vero orbem cruce insignitum complectitur. Barba quoque prominet, & illud etiam maiestatis est. Pars altera 15 orbiculari lamina argenti tota obducitur: vnde & incertum cuius forme sit. Appendet catenulæ ex argento intortæ. Dispeream lector nisi vidisse velis: tanta est tum rei antiquitas, tum maiestas. Rogatus tandem a me | mystagogus, vt mihi Fol. 13. significaret, si quid præterea didicisset de appenso sigillo, nam 20 inter ornamenta, quæ plurima auro, & gemmis micantia Eadueardi Simplicis regis Angliæ sepulchrum exornabant, & hoc quoque memorabile fuit. Ille autem ad hæc nihil, præterquam quod a rege aliquo putaret eo repositum loco in perpetuam Arturii terque, quaterque magni memoriam. Certe si fas esset 25 coniecturis vllis collineare verum, tantum non crederem, sigillum a Glessoburgo translatum fuisse, cui monasterio casu per ignem fœdissime deturpato tali munificentissimus præmia contulit, qualia ille pietate sua insigni facilius dare, quam monachi sperare, potuit. Henricus ipse, vt supra retuli, fecit mentionem Arturianæ dona- 30 tionis, atque adeo eam vidisse, & legisse se. Vnde & fieri quidem potuit, vt ex esa membrana a blattis, & tineis longo temporis cursu, repertum tam illustre antiquitatis monumentum, monasterio primi nominis conseruandum, & a nobilitate perpetuo videndum traderit. Vt mea me fallat coniectura dispendium quidem 35 leue, immo plane nullum. Hoc interim blanditur mihi, quod cum de Arturio agitur, & de rebus ab eo gestis, Glessoburgus semper instat, & operam ad certam cognitionem candidissime pollicetur suam. Vnde quidem & nostri in præsentia laboris fructus omnis, tanquam e fonte profluentissimo deriuandus. Nec

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certe, quod ego sciam, extat quicquam quod luculentius ipso sigillo comprobet Arturium fuisse: id quod, si diis placet, impudenter pernegare aliqui non dubitant, opinione, voluntate, temeritate denique, potius quam ratione vlla iusta nixi. Sed inferius deligemus locum, quo iustis argumentorum | copiis hanc 5 violentam calumniatorum turbam prosternamus. Interea sigilli inscriptio subtilius excutienda. Habet enim sua mysteria, quæ, ubi lucem receperint, maiori cum voluptate, tum gratia aures candidorum lectorum imbuant, & imbutas mirifice delectent: id quod operis precium & quidem amplum est. Patricius nomen a maiestate 10 Romana desumptum. Dicti sunt eo nomine Romani nobiles, qui a primis senatoribus oriundi. Id videtur Tacitus his verbis significare. Iisdem diebus in numerum patriciorum afciuit Cæsar vetustissimum quemque ex senatu, aut quibus clari parentes fuerant. Lilius hæc refert. Romulus centum creat senatores, 15 qui patres ab honore, patricii quoque progenie eorum appellati. Liqueat igitur Arturium hanc nominis famam insignem illam a parentibus, & maioribus suis accepisse. Vnde etiam apparet, non dum id temporis Romanæ maiestatis gloriam ad Britannos translata in titulis refrixisse. Crediderim Arturii etiam nomen 20 originem ab Arturiis Romanis accepisse. Iuuenalis poeta satyra tertia ita scribit. Cedamus patria, viuant Arturius istic, Et Catulus.

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Quancumque, redacta in provinciam a Claudio Britannia, familiarissimum erat Britannis nobilioribus Romanorum nomina 25 sibi partim desumere, & filiis frequentissime indere, hoc, ut ego plane arbitror, consilio non inepto ductis, quod hinc & sibi, suisque honorem, simul & a Romanis gratiam facile compararent. Lucius, cui Britanni cognomen Magni attribuerunt. Constantinus, & ille quoque Magnus. Aurelius Ambrosius, & his 30 Arturii non inferior meam vehementer comprobant sententiam. Idem quoque in nobilium nomenclatura sceminarum factum est. Exemplo sunt Claudia Rufina, teste Martiali poeta, eruditissima, Helena sanctissima, & Vrsula Cynosura illa. Quod autem inscriptio sigilli serie quadam eum Britannicæ, Gallicæ, Germanicæ, 35 Dacicæ denique imperatorem vocet, consuetudine, & diligentia hoc quoque factum Romana, ut una cum triumphis, & tituli deuictarum gentium victori accrescerent. Inditio sunt arcus triumphales Romæ, & numismata Cæsarum cura simili inscripta.

Imperatoris vero nomen antiquitus, vt ex Cæsare, Cicerone, & Liuiο manifestum est, ad Duces pertinebat legionum: vnde est Arturius imperator dictus est vocabulo apto, significanti, & pure pute Latino. Illud vero quod inscriptio non Arturius, sed Arturus
5 amissa i litera habet, sculptoris tantum vel errori, vel incuriæ imputo. Propria Romanorum nomina compositione, & natura quadam sua mollius, & consociantius defluunt, & terminantur in ius quam us, vt Aemilius, Manilius, Claudius, Cornelius, Terentius, Vergilius, Horatius, Ouidius. Dixi superius de
10 triumphis Arturii ob feliciter gesta contra Saxones, & Gallos bella. Superest vt inscriptione sigilli admonitus de Germania, & Dacia aliquid loquar. Sed hic expeditum me ad tam honestum munus historiographorum veterum autoritas non satis ex voto scripturienti mihi materiam subministrat. Causam vero interim susceptam non
15 defendere, religioplane esset. Audebo igitur hoc tam certo, & manifesto inscriptionis testimonio confirmatus fidem lectori facere, Arturium, fufis memorabili aliqua clade Gallis, cum Germanis, | atque Dacis manus conseruisse. Nisi quis uictoriam huc pertinere
contendat, quod domestico bello Saxones, & Cimbros gentes Ger-
20 manicas, & Dacicas acriter castigauerit. Cimbrorum Chersonesus ea Germaniæ pars olim fuit, quæ nunc Dania, & Noruegia recentioribus uocabulis. Harum gentium reges antiquiores in suis diplomatibus, ut ego accepi, non se Danorum, sed Dacorum gubernatores scribebant. Sunt tamen inter eruditos, qui adfir-
25 ment Dacos inhabitasse eam regionem, quæ nunc Moldauia, & Valachia dicitur. Volateranus libro 3, Geographiæ adfirmat Arturium partem Galliæ Noruegiæ, & Daciæ ab Arturio deuictam fuisse. Trittemius quoque hæc scribit. Quod cum reges Daciæ, Noruegiæque audissent, ultro venientes eius se dominio
30 subdiderunt. Hic mihi lector admonendus est non solum Saxones, Anglos, & Iutas, alias Vitas soles venisse in Britanniam, verum etiam totius littoris Germanici accolae. Alioqui tot bellis, & cædibus impares fuissent. Sigillum iam vna cum inscriptione suis utcumque depinxi coloribus. Proxima cura erit Arturii
35 reditum e Gallia, & cruentos conflictus inter eum, & Mordredum chartis committere.

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Arturii ex Gallia reditus.

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Intellexerat Arturius cum per literas, tum etiam per nuntios optimæ fidei Mordredum nimium familiarem absente ipso apud Guenheram fuisse: tum preterea sædus contra fidei sacramentum cum Cerdicio rege, & | Saxonibus iniisse, ditione pene 5 omni, qua Britannia meridiem spectat, illis, damno rei publicæ infinito, tradita. Accefferat & aliud malum, quo non perniciosius ullum. Ruptis ille omnibus amicitiae, sanguinis, ac fidei vinculis, defertor pessimus, ac domini, & patriæ proditor scelestissimus, purpuram non illis aptam humeris induit, ac regiam 10 conscendit sedem tyrannide noua fretus. Non tulit ultra Arturius tam vndecunque insignem sibi factam a perfido contumeliam, quanquam & ante aliquot annos iustam decreuerat sed impeditum bello Gallico, vindictam, quin totis viribus tam horrendum, ingens, crudele monstrum protereret. Classe igitur 15 comparata a Gessoriaco Morinorum ad Rutupinum litus, teste vna cum aliis, Mattheo Florilego, secundis velis contendit. Præfererat aduentum optimi Domini seruus longè omnium pessimus, & iusto exercitu conscripto, non sine consilio, & auxilio Pictorum, Scottorum, & Visifaxonum, redeunti confidentissimus 20 occurrit. Cantianum litus omne armorum personabat strepitu, & iam Duces pro signis stabant, & chorus Pugilum victores orbis alacri impetu tela vibrabant, pars gladios fulminantes exeruerè, pars hastas validis manibus crispabant. Vox omnibus vna, bella Martia bella. Lætissimus hac expedita alacritate, & militum 25 magnis animis Arturius miraculum omnis cum fortitudinis, tum maturæ per experientiam prudentiæ, huiusmodi oratione, oculis a terra ad cælum, & suos leuatis, vultusque serenitate cum feueritate, & maiestate quadam mixta, usus est. Vos Pugiles, illustrissima virtutis martiæ lumina, & vos cætera notissimæ for- 30 titudinis turba videtis quo nos deduxerit fortuna | & tantarum victoriarum comes, ut quæ foris fortissima peperimus manu, non modo integra conseruemus, verum etiam nouo aliquo, & luculento incremento maiora comparemus, id quod ut in præsentia, & facilius fiat talis occasio oportune me hercle oblata iam est, 35 ut si vellent bonæ fortunæ omnes in gratiam amice coniurare nostram non equidem possent, vel fusius vel felicius obtulisse.

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Eamus igitur maximis animis quo fortuna, quo virtus, quo
 denique victoria vocat. Adeſt Mordredus confidentiſſimus,
 & mihi ſanguine coniunctiſſimus, quem adoleſcentem in ſpem
 magni nominis ſoui, amaui, atque adeo tam magni feci, ero-
 5 gatis prædiis quidem bene multis, nec minus fertilibus, vt in
 Galliam vindex profecturus, conſilio, vt tum videbatur plane
 fano, vni illi & vxorem meam, & fortunas, & quod multo maxi-
 mum patriam conſeruandam, ac vicaria opera regendam,
 a Saxonum, Scottorum, & Pictorum denique aſiduo impetu
 10 fortiſſime defendendam crediderim. Ille interim oblitus pro-
 fuſiſſimæ liberalitatis erga ſe meæ, & neceſſitudinis, quæ ple-
 runque in rebus humanis maximum plane momentum habet, ac
 ſacramenti militaris, quo mihi eſt deuinctiſſimus, perfidus, & con-
 temptor magnus, adulter etiam, vt fama prædicat, me regem,
 15 & gentium cum domitorem, tum dominatorem ad penates
 redeuntem, aperto, ſi diis placet, marte accipit, Pictis cognatis
 ſuis, Scottis eorundem vicinis, denique & Saxonibus in præſidium
 comparatis. Neque enim hæc me ſolum tangit inſigne flagitium,
 veſtra certe omnium intereſt. Quare vos Pugiles mea vnica
 20 cura inuictiſſimi, & vos commilitones ſtrenuiſſimi agite præ-
 ſentiſſimis | viribus communem cauſam, eluceatque nunc virtus, Fol. 16.
 quam ego hactenus in vobis expeditam, validam, admirabilem
 ſemper eſſe perſenſi. Tu Gallouine militiæ decus laudatiſſimum,
 cuius gloria, multis nominibus, & hoc maxime, orbi commenda-
 25 tiſſima eſt, quod Mordredum hoſtem communem noſtrum, ger-
 manum fratrem tuum æquitati, & ſacramento fidei poſtpoſueris,
 concede hinc ad dextrum cornu robore militum inſtructiſſimum :
 nam primæ certaminis, & gloriæ partes hac turma tuæ erunt.
 Auguſellus exploratiſſimæ fortitudinis vallum hoſtibus ſe ad
 30 ſiniſtram alam obiiçiet. Ipſe in medio pugnator aſiduus bonis
 auiſibus adero, vobis præſidium vnicum, hoſtibus vero terror,
 flagellum, crux merita. Sed quid verbis opus eſt, quæ virtutem nec
 certe dant, nec adimunt. Veſtra virtus ex conſuetudine, exercita-
 tione, patientia, laboris, vigiliarum, & inedia, denique ex fuſo ſan-
 35 guine, & ſpoliis enata eſt : quibus nominibus & vos mihi, & ego
 rurus vobis, ſuperis tam iuſtæ cauſæ fauentibus, uictoriam polliceor.
 Agite, facite immortalia ueſtrarum uirium pericula, & proditores
 punctim occidite. Dixerat. Vniuerſi imperio Ducis adſona-
 bant, & alacri procuſu, collatis ſignis, fortia virtutis indicia

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longe, lateque ædebant. Sic tandem partim interfectis, partim etiam fugatis hostibus, victoria potitus est cruenta Arturius. Cecidere eo prælio ad portum Durensem commisso Gallouinus, & Augufellus belli fulmina, ut refert Graius in Scalæchronicis, atque alii non contemnendæ notæ autores. Mordredus incli- 5 nationem fortunæ accusans, recuperata classe, cum reliquiis exercitus Tamarinum inglorius portum limitem Coriniæ petiit. Gallouini nobile | funus in quodam facello Durenfis castrî tumulatum est. Ingemuit Arturius, percognita cede duorum virorum tam eximie illustrium, & eorum manibus frequenti prece, alto 10 corde dolorem premens, generosus, idemque pius parentauit. Deinde vero, iusto exercitu incredibili cum celeritate reffecto, statuit magnis itineribus hostem improbum persequi, & quasi ex improviso fugitium opprimere. Callidior erat Mordredus, quam fortior. Hinc illi methodus ad artes non insuetas. Cog- 15 nouit liquido per exploratores aduentare Arturium ad bellum instructissimum. Quare militem in terram utpote fessum, tum falis tædio, tum annonæ penuria, descendere iussit, ac reparatis indust[r]ia, labore, diligentia, quanta potuit maxima, armis, per montana Coriniæ, qua spectat littora Sabrinaica non longe 20 disita, exercitum lentis itineribus ducit, & in loco qui a vulgo scriptorum Camblan appellatur, vbi vasta, ac partim etiam vliginosa planities, & colliculus in speculæ confurgens vsum, castra metatus est. Hic meum cogor interponere iudicium de loco in quo depugnatum est, & eius nomine, non quod hinc me 25 in medium allaturum putem aliquid, tanquam e Iouis cerebro, sed vt bona cum eruditorum gratia, coniecturam meam citra fumum, factumque omnem, veluti in transcurfu, paucis explicem. Qua parte ingenue fateor ægre sentire me cum Hectore Boethio Scotto, qui pro more suo illustrissima quæque in Britannia 30 antiquitus facta præter modum, & mensuram omnem in patrios deducit agros, atque hic audacter pronunciat extremis Arturium depugnasse signis non procul ab Abro æstuario maximo, quod ille Humbrum barbare, ignota vocabuli notatione, appellat. At aliter sentit Britannica historia, & in Cornubia supremo 35 conflixisse bello, adfirmat: ita tamen, vt meminerit Mordredi secundo ab Arturio victi, & fugati Ventæ Simenorum. Graius hoc idem sentit egregius profecto satelles, & Arturianæ assertor gloriæ rigidus. Nec aliter literatorum argutus chorus concinit.

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At nostra non est equidem de loco, sed de loci nomine coniectura. Ego certe pene adducor ut credam Alaunum fluuium facile degenerasse vitio indoctorum librariorum in Camblan. Oritur hic fluuius in Corinia paucis passuum millibus supra. 5 Athelstouam alias Padeftow oppidum piscatorium, non adeo procul a Sabrino aestu positum, per quod, sed falsis mixtus aquis, delabitur. Circa fontes eius originis in campestri, & vasta quadam planitie est locus fama celeberrimus, graminis, quam frumenti aliquanto feracior. Fama tot saeculis apud incolas 10 conseruata praedicat hoc loco insignem olim pugnando stragem fuisse factam, sed historię veritas interim ignota vulgo. Multa quidem vel hac nostra aetate ibidem ab aratoribus, & fossoribus ad ripam eruuntur: qualia sunt numismata antiquorum imperium ostentantia, annuli, fragmenta armorum, & aenea ornamenta 15 inaurata ex frenis, phalerisque, & ephippiis equorum. Haec mea est coniectura, tum propter loci situm, tum Alauni fluminis vicini nomen, non admodum, si quis penitus inspiciat, a Camblan diffonum. Arturius instat, & traiecto per vada cognita Tamaro fluuio multis alioqui in locis, & rapidissimo, & profundissimo, 20 contempto hoste fugitivo, castra castris opponit. Ecce desperatio, ut fere fit, insolitam victis audaciam retulit: unde & pars vtraque martem prouocat, ardens, spe praedae, & victoriae, & nihil minus quam mortem metuens.

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Quis cladem illius pugnæ, quis funera fando

25 Explicet? aut possit lachrimis æquare labores?

Mordredus commissa pugna malorum praecentor omnium gladio confossus perfidia iustum tulit precium. Exemplo sit ille, & perpetuo fidem violentibus ob imperii cupiditatem. Cecidit vna cum tyranno ingens nobilium, & veteranorum militum numerus. 30 Sed neque victoria Arturio incruenta fuit. Nam in illo strepitu, & furore aut interfectus, aut ad desperationem vulneratus paulo post publico totius Britanniae luctu, sed praecipue Pugilum moerentium ob tam inclyti Principis casum elatus est. Atque hæc quidem Arturii ter maximi finis erat.

Laus Arturii.

Arturius mortuus est, si modo is recte mortuus dicendus, cuius fama, memoria, laudes toto viuunt, & prænitent orbe. Fuerunt maiores nostri cum poetæ, tum historiographi adeo erga Arturium faciles, candidi, grati, vt illius & nomen, & facta celebrauerint, 5 & æternitate quoque donauerint. Theliefinus, Melchinus qui & Meuinus, Ambrosius Maridunensis, ac Merlinus Caledonius clarissima Britannicæ sidera antiquitatis hoc præstiterunt. Nennius, & Samuel Britanni historiographi non minorem exhibuere memoriam, collatis laudum niueis calculis. De quibus, atque 10 aliis superius oportune, & suis locis diximus, freti autoritate Galfredi, Aluredi, Henrici Venantodunensis, Ioannis Chrysfistoriographi, Gulielmi a Meildulphi curia, Graii, & Boccatii. At si nunc quem iuuat maius & luculentius ad huc aliquid cognoscere, non recusabo pauca ex probatissimis desumpta autoribus luci, 15 diligentia qua possum optima, restituere. Iosephus Iscæ Domnionorum alumnus, & aureum suo sæculo vtriusque eloquentiæ flumen, sic Arturium in Antiocheide ab eximia fortitudine tantum non ad sidera ipsa attollit, vt ex his versibus cum antiquitate Romanæ de palma contendentibus liquer. 20

Hinc celebri fato felici claruit ortu
 Flos regum Arturus: cuius cum facta stupori,
 Non micuere minus, quod totus in aure voluptas,
 Et populo narrante fauus, Quæcunque priorum
 Inspice. Pelleum commendat fama tyrannum. 25
 Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos.
 Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstros.
 Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sidera solem
 Aequant. Annales Latios, Graioſque reuolue,
 Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum 30
 Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes
 Solus, præteritis melior, maiorque futuris.

Libellus rerum antiquarum Glessoburgi nuper comparuit, collectus a quodam eiusdem cænobii monacho studiosissimo, qui per occupationem colorem rhetoricum, tanquam aliud agens 35 Arturium his verbis celebrat. Prætermitto, & de inclyto Arturio rege Britannorum loqui in cæmeterio monachorum inter duas |

pyramides cum sua coniuge tumulato, & multis etiam Britonum Principibus. Syluester Giraldu Meneuensis cultor antiquitatis summus hac oratione, in libro cui Principis institutio titulus, eius famam illustrat. Arturii quoque Britonum regis inclyti memoria non est supprimenda, quem monasterii Glesconienſis egregii, cuius & ipſe patronus ſuis diebus fuerat præcipuus, & largitor, ac ſubleuator magnificus, hiftoriæ multum extollunt. Ioannes Annæuillanus poeta ſuis temporibus plane ingenioſus, nec minus elegans carmina hæc cecinit in laudem Arturii, quæ vel nunc in
10 eius Architrenio comparent.

Alter Achilles

Arturus, teretis menſæ genitiua venuſtas,

A ramo Phrygius, dandi non vnda, fed æquor.

Hic vero ſi præterea ſtuderem Arturium a multitudine auctorum
15 rectiſſime de eo & ſcribentium, & conſentientium cumulate exornare: facilius me copia eloquentiæ, quam materiæ vnde-
cunque luculentæ magnificentia defereret. Sit ſatis in præſentia paucis ſcriptorum, ſed illuſtribus ſuffragiis, vti. Quid obſecro in
20 cauſa quod Trittemius in Compendio annalium tam egregiam de Arturio mentionem faciat? Cauſa quidem ſatis aperta eſt. Nam quod ab aliis bona fide didicit, eadem gratus poſteritati tradidit, id quod plane feciſſet nunquam, ſi de cauſæ veritate dubitaſſet. Quin præſens nunc loquatur ipſe. Qui Arturus multa probitate morum, prudentia, manſuetudine, ſimul &
25 humanitate, pollens, ſe cunctis amabilem venerandumque cunctis præſtare omni ſtudio curabat: quia cum virtute animi etiam mira liberalitate affluebat in omnes & | maxime in eccleſiaſticos, quibus pro Chriſti amore plura conferebat munuſcula, ſimul & donaria. Saxones, & Pictos de Britannia expulit. Scottos
30 Hibernicos, & Orcades ſuo regno potenter ſubiecit. Volaternus libro tertio Geographiæ affurgit famæ Arturii, & eius facta fortia accurate celebrat. Porro & Iacobus Philippus Bergomas nono Chronicorum libro Arturii virtutem præconiis vel iuſtiſſimis attollit. Sed nec minora vlla Nauclerus eidem in ſua contulit
35 hiftoria. Hæc plane feciſſent nunquam viri cum doctiſſimi, tum in antiquitate exercitatiſſimi, niſi prius ſibi perſuaſiſſent Arturium aliquando fuiſſe omnibus virtutum ornamentis abunde inſignem. Sed quæ multorum eſt iniquitas, & animus contemptor, quæ

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ſtatim ignorantia toti, & craſſa quidem, obducti non liquido perſpiciunt, ſtupide negligunt, contemnunt, ac prorſus reiiciunt. Valeant eiufmodi antiquæ cenſores hiftoriæ, & ſua perfruantur ſtultitia, ne dicam infania. Quid ſi nunc Hectoris Boethii ſcriptoris noſt[r]æ ætatis teſtimonium conſpicuum de Arturii gloria 5 immortalis in medium protulero? Certe nihil hoc calculo eius dignitati decedet, accedet vero plurimum, hoc nomine, quod Scottus inſtinctu neſcio quo naturæ Britannum odio, ut eſt in prouerbio, Vatiniano proſequatur. Vnde ab aduerſario, inimico, vel hoſte laudari palmarii loco eſt. Hæc itaque ſunt eius verba. 10 Fuit rex Arturius rerum egregie geſtarum gloria, & amplitudine non minus quam Britannicæ reges, qui ante eum vixere inſignis: vnde opes, & vires Britannis, eo regnante, plurimum creuere. Hactenus Boethius. Quam hic vellem dari mihi occaſionem a Polydoro Italo iuſtam, ut Arturio | Britanno criſtas erigerem 15 eius quoque ſuffragio memorabili aliquo. Agit ille cauſam Arturii, ſed patronus interim tam languens, tepidus, & remiſſus, ut mihi non riſum modo, verum etiam ſtomachum, dum falſus, & Italo perſuſus aceto neſcio an rideat, an ſtomachetur. Torquet enim ſe miſere in hiftorię concinnatione, quam, ut interim 20 aliquam faciat, cogitur velit, nolit in gratiam redire cum Galfredo Monæmuthenſi, quem ante, ut ſibi videbatur, verbis multis ex felle potius, quam ſplene natis magnifice, & pro imperio caſtigauerat. Quem quia interpretem tantum ſemel, atque iterum defenderim in cauſa plane iuſtiſſima periculum & quidem 25 magni meo etiam capiti, cum ſim vltra montanus, imminet. Cauebo igitur, & rei veritate conſiſus vna, eam pro vallo, & ſoſſa mecum vel perpetuo circumferam. Ut fileat Polydorus. Non ſtatim neceſſe eſt, ut orbis fileat vniuerſus. Quanquam & Italia Arturium in precio olim habuit, atque adeo iam habet: 30 quando libri de eius cum fortitudine, tum victoriis, impreſſi, ut ego didici, Italice legantur, Hiſpanice etiam, & Gallice. Vnde & collectio Anglica, autore Thoma Mailerio, prodiit. Dixerit aduerſarius in illos mendacia irrepreſſe multa Pernoui. Quare hoc aliud nihil quam edoctum docere. Ut fabulas contemno, 35 ita hiftoriæ veritatem amplector, & ſuauior. Nec hanc patiar, niſi cum vita, a me unquam diſtrahi amicam. Ingratos refugio, & ad rupes, & ſaxa teſtes nominis, & maiſtatis Arturianæ confugio. Hac quoque parte venientem me Sylueſter Giraldus

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Meneuensis his verbis ex Itinerario desumptis accepit. Motibus excellis præterquam a borea hæc vndique terra, Brechaniam intelligit concluditus. A zephyro | montana de Canter Vehan : Fol. 20.
 ab austro montes habet meridionaleis, quorum principalis Cair
 5 Arture Britannice dicitur, id est castrum Arturii propter gemina
 promontorii cacumina in castrum modum se præferentia. Et
 quoniam in alto cathedra, & in arduo loco sita est, fummo,
 & maximo Britonum regi Arturio vulgari nuncupatione est
 assignata. Haec ille. A montibus Brechanicis ad Balduinum
 10 nunc mihi commigrandum, urbem olim celebrem, quæ quadrin-
 gentis ab hinc annis & amplius a Rogero Montis Gomerici
 alumno, & Salopiæ comite Mons Gomericus dicta est. Hic
 inter collapsa mteniorum rudera locus est fama cognitus, quem
 ciuium reliquiæ Portam Arturianam appellant. Fuit profecto
 15 semper, atque adeo nunc est, gens Cambrorum generoso quodam
 impetu erga Principum suo tum laudes, quo titulo vel hodie elucet
 nomen vna cum laude non vulgari Arturii cognomento Magni,
 qui & Britannice Arture vaur dicitur. Maur Britannice magnum
 significat. At lingue Cambricę idiotismus in Maure coniugato
 20 vertit. M. in V. quemadmodum & in aliis vocabulis propter
 euphoniā B. subinde in V. vertitur.

Aualoniæ antiquitas.

Series orationes hic me admonet, vt de Arturii sepultura verba
 faciam, cuius vt satis iam memini, ita lucido, ordini in primis
 25 conuenire iudico, vt loci prius antiquitatem, quo funus perlatum
 est, exquisita cura posteritati consecrem. Aual Britannice mallum, Fol. 20
 vel ut communiori vocabulo interpreter pomum, significat, Aualon back.
 vero pomarium : vnde & a Merlino Caledonio his versibus inter-
 prete Galfredo Arturio Monæmuthensi insula pomorum dicta est.

30 Insula pomorum quæ fortunata vocatur
 Ex re nomen habet, quia per se singula profert.
 Non opus est illi fulcantibus arua colonis.
 Omnis abest cultus, nisi quem natura ministrat.
 Vltro sæcundas segetes producit, & vuas,
 35 Nataque poma suis prætonso germine syluis.

Melchinus Britannus Aualoniæ, & sacri ibidem cœmeterii

meminit. Syluester Giraldus in libro de Institutione Principis sic loquitur. Quæ nunc autem Glefconia dicitur antiquitus insula Aualonia dicebatur. Est enim quasi insula tota paludibus obfita, vnde dicta est Britannice Aualon, id est insula pomifera. Pomis enim quæ Aual Britannica lingua dicuntur locus abundat. 5 Patricius Hiber[n]orum apostolus in quadam Epistola mentionem huius loci facit, sed alio nomine, cuius & verba subiiciam. Hiberniam ad viam veritatis conuertit, & cum eos in fide solidassent catholica, tandem in Britanniam sum reuersus, ac, vt credo, duce Deo, qui vita est, & via incidi in insulam Iniswitrine, in qua 10 inueni locum sanctum, & vetustum a Deo electum, & sanctificatum Mariæ: ibique quosdam fratres rudimentis catholicæ fidei imbutos, qui successerunt discipulis sanctorum Fugatii, & Damiani. Hactenus Patricius, qui & ibidem nomina recenset duodecim religioforum, quorum & duo nobiles, quibus omnibus ipse præfuit, 15 vt ex his verbis liquet. Sic me licet inuitum sibi prætulerunt. Et rursus in eadem epistola ostend[er]unt mihi fratres scripta sanctorum Fugatii, & Damiani, in quibus continebatur quod duodecim discipuli sanctorum Philippi, & Iacobi ipsam vetustam ecclesiam construxerant, & quod tres reges pagani ipsis duodecim, 20 totidem terræ possessiones dederant. Postremo, vt Fugatus, & Damianus facellum in Turrito monte non procul ab Aualonia D. Michaeli posuerint. Satis est in præsentia vel leuiter degustasse Patricii venerandi epistolam. Gulielmus Meildunensis in libro de antiquitate Glesfoburgensis monasterii ad Henricum Blefensem 25 alias Soliacensem episcopum Ventæ Simenorum, & libro de regibus primo non dissimilia scribit. Vnde et coniectura iusta Gulielmum sua transtulisse ex Patricii epistola. Syluester Giraldus in libro de Principis institutione etymon nominis non infeliciter aperit. Dicta quoque quondam Britannice Iniswitrin 30 fuerat: ex quo vocabulo superuenientes postea Saxones locum illum Glesfenbury vocabant. Gles enim eorum lingua vitrum sonat & bury castrum, vel ciuitas appellatur. Hæc ille. Mihi quidem mendum esse videtur librariorum, quod hic scribant byri pro burg, aut berg. Byri saxonice curia: Vnde Aldermanbyri id est seniorum curia, Lytlebyri parua curia. Canonbyri, vulgo 35 Canbyri canonicorum curia. Burg alias borow montem denotat, & egestæ terræ tumulos. Berg denique castrum Latine dicitur. Vnde sentio rectius legendum Berg, aut Burg, vt castrum, quo

Giraldus vocabulo utitur, aut oppido subseruiat. Quanquam, vt ingenue fatear, nomen varie apud antiquos scriptum reperio, vt Gleffenbyri, Glestonbyri, & Gleffenburg. Sunt qui & pronuncient Glas pro | Gles : quanquam Gles purius, & antiquius, ut ex
 5 Gleffiarum infularum nomine liquido apparet. Fol. 21
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Funus Arturii.

Nec possum, nec uolo pronunciare num Arturius totus in bello Alaunico, quod uulgo Camblan, conciderit, an Aualoniæ inter curationem vulnerum. Britannici scriptores omnes contendunt
 10 vno ore eum Aualoniæ ex dolore eorundem periisse. De loco autem sepulturæ conueniunt vniuersi. Vnum hoc ausim adfirmare tam sollicitos fuisse Britannos de nece Domini sui, vt eam modis omnibus studuerint claram reddere, & nomen Ducis sui Saxonibus vel perpetuo tremendum relinquere : vsque adeo, vt plausibili, &
 15 nouo quodam commento sparserint rumores de eo cum redituro, tum iterum regnaturo. De Arturii vulnerati aduentu in Aualoniam scripsere aliquot Britanni. At nullus vel fufius, vel lucidus, quam Merlinus Caledonius a Theliefino vate, vt quidam volunt, edoctus, cuius & hic versus ex prophetico libello, interprete Galfrido
 20 Arturio, delectos adfigam.

Illuc post bellum Camblani vulnere læsum
 Duximus Arturum, nos conducente Barincho,
 Aequora cui fuerant, & cœli fidera nota.
 Hoc rectore ratis cum Principe venimus illuc,
 25 Et nos quo decuit Morgan suscepit honore,
 Inque suis thalamis posuit super aurea regem
 Fulcra, manuque sibi detexit vulnus honesta,
 Inspexitque diu: tandemque redire salutem Fol. 22.
 Posse sibi dixit, si secum tempore longo
 30 Effet, & ipsius vellet medicamine fungi.
 Gaudentes igitur regem commisimus illi,
 Et dedimus ventis redeundo vela secundis.

Syluefter Giraldus in Speculo ecclesiastico scribit Morganen illustrem foeminam curauisse funus Arturii. Et rursus in libro de
 35 institutione Principis hæc refert. Vnde & Morganis nobilis matrona, & partium illarum dominatrix, & patrona, nec non

& Arturio sanguine propinqua post bellum de Kemelen, Arturium ad sanandum eius vulnera in insulam, quæ nunc Glasconia dicitur, deportauit. Britannicæ interpretes historiæ libro sexto talia de morte Arturii scribit. Arturius letaliter vulneratus in pugna ad Camblan contulit se Aualoniam, relicto imperio Constantino Cadorii ducis Coriniæ filio. Ioannes Burgenfis abba in suis Annalibus hæc fidis commisit chartis. Occuluit se rex Arturius moriturus, ne casui tanto insultarent inimici, amicieque confusi molestarentur. Hactenus ille. Nunc de sacrosancto cœmeterio Aualoniæ, in quo Arturius sepultus 10 est, dicendum. Melchinus in primis huius meminit, & Arturii ibidem sepulti. Gulielmus a Meildulphi curia cum alibi, tum præcipue in libro de antiquitate Glesfoburgenfi sacrum hoc cœmeterium religiose celebrat. Idem facit & Giraldus Meneuensis in speculo ecclesiastico, & libro de institutione Principis. Non 15 erant eo sæculo in Britannia tam frequentia, quam nunc sunt cœmeteria. Saxones nobiles gens Christi ignara in hortis amœnis si domi forte ægroti moriebantur, si foris, & bello occisi in egestis per campos terræ tumulis, quos burgos appellabant, iuxta castra sepulti sunt: vulgus autem promiscuum etiam in 20 pratis, & apertis campis. Erat tunc temporis sacrum cœmeterium iuxta ueterem ecclesiam in precio maximo, quo titulo & a tota nobilitate occidentalium Britannicæ regiuncularum in sepulchri fortem cooptatum. Idem postea a Saxonibus Seruatorem agnoscentibus factitatum est: vt Durouerni Cantiorum, Eboraci 25 Brigantum, Lindissarnæ, atque adeo alibi. De loco sepulturæ iam satis constat. Supereft, vt & ritum, & sepulchri formam demonstrem. Adfuit, sed secreto, nobilium chorus Domini tam iniquo fato sublati funus perlugens. Curauit vna funus Morganis femina pietatis plane incomparabilis, & iuxta sepulchro, lachrimarum flumine irriguo, omnia anxie persoluebat. Mos eius sæculi fuit alnorum ingenteis truncos, quarum, partes Aualoniæ vicinæ feracissimæ erant, incauare, & in vfus sepulchrorum dedolare. Habet enim alnus nescio quid commune cum vliginoso solo, quale cœmeterium est: vsque adeo, vt eius materia in terra 35 huiusmodi altius posita, tantum non æterna censeatur. Corpus Arturii deplorati, fossa bene alta facta, robore alneo excauato conditum est. Et quoniam fama, factis, ditione magnificentissimus vixit: symbolum æternæ memoriæ Christianorum in hoc sedulo

tum consuetudinem, tum candorem imitati, crucem uidelicet perpetuæ vitæ Mnemofynen sepulchro mortui intulerunt. Erat ex lamina plumbea confecta, longa plus minus pedem vnum, quam & ego curiosissimis contemplatus sum oculis, & sollicitus
5 contrectaui articulis, motus & antiquitate rei, & dignitate. Literis Romanis maiusculis | illis, sed parum dextere insculptis hæc Fol. 23.
verba continet. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLYTVS
REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA. Sed hic
forfitan curiosus aliquis exquiret, quo consilio inscriptio laminæ
10 plumbeæ commendata sit. Mos eius ætatis erat receptissimus,
& durauit vsque ad recentiora sæcula, vt sepulchris nobilium
laminas plumbeas inscriptas includerent. Quarum non paucas
vidi passim per vniuersam Britanniam. Plumbum sua natura
facile recipit sculpturam, & acceptam cum longissime, tum fide-
15 lissime, teste experientia, conseruat. Montes Minerarii plumbi
admodum fertiles, vix quinque passuum millibus ab Aualonia
distant. Non puduit Romanos rerum Dominos trophæum ex
oblonga plumbi tabula in ipsis pene eorundem montium
radicibus ad fontes Ochidis fluuioli fabulosi ditionis episcopi
20 Fontani Claudio Cæsari sic inscriptum erigere. TI. CLAVD.
CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE
BRITAN. Hoc trophæum annis ab hinc paucis aratro
erutum, & ad ædes Thomæ Houerti Icenorum Ducis Londinum
translatum.

25 *Pyramides sancti cæmeterii.*

In sepulchreto, quod Aualoniæ sacrosanctum est, stant duæ
pyramides antiquissimæ structure, imagines, & literas præ se
ferentes, sed venti, procellæ, tempus edax rerum, postremo
inuidiosa vetustas ita operum eximias olim figuras, & inscriptiones
30 deuenustauerunt, | vt vix vllò labore deprehendi vel a lynceo Fol. 23
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possint. Has frequens scriptorum pagina commemorat, & præcipue
Gulielmi Meildunensis antiquarii cura magni, quem & Siluester
Giraldus, amator & ipse rerum veterum subsequitur. Vterque
equidem docte: Ille quod labore exquisito imagines, & titulos
35 ante quadringentos annos tantum non oblitos, luci in
pulcherrimo, iuxta ac elegantissimo libello de antiquitate Glesso-
burgenfi restituerit: Hic quod iustis fretus argumentis, & veterum

relatione sepulchrum Arturii, vel inter pyramides, aut loco ab eis non longe disito, aliquando positum fuisse, probet. Plura de Giraldo in sepulchro Arturii inuento dicemus. Interea descriptionem pyramidum ab ipsis Gulielmi pencillis graphice depictam, velut in luculenta tabula, spectatorum oculis subiiciam. 5 Illud quod clam plane omnibus est libenter predicarem, si veritatem exculpere possem: quid ille pyramides sibi velint, quæ aliquantis pedibus ab ecclesia vetusta posite cœmeterium monachorum prætexunt. Procerior fane, & propinquior ecclesiæ habet quinque tabulatus, & altitudinem viginti sex pedum. Hæc 10 præ nimia vetustate, & si ruinam minetur, habet tamen antiquitatis non nulla spectacula, quæ plane possunt legi, licet non possint plene intelligi. In superiori enim tabulatu est imago pontificali schemate facta. In secundo imago regiam prætendens pompam, & literæ. Her. Sexi. et Blifwerh. In tertio nihilo- 15 minus nomina. Wem creste. Bantomp. winewegn. In quarto Hate. wulfrede, & Eanfleda. In quinto, qui & inferior est imago, & hæc scriptura. Logwor. Weslielas, & Bregdene. Fol. 24. Swelwes Hwingendes berne. Altero vero pyramis habet | octo- 20 decim pedes, & quatuor tabulatus, in quibus hæc leguntur. Hedde episcopus, & Bregorred, & Beorwalde. Quid hæc significant non temere definio, sed ex suspitione colligo eorum interius in cauatis lapidibus contineri ossa, quorum exterius leguntur nomina. Certe Logwor is pro certo asseritur esse, de cuius nomine quondam Logweresbeorh dicebatur, qui nunc Mons 25 acutus dicitur. Beorwalde nihilominus abbas post Hemgiselum. Hæc Meildunensis, cui docti illustratas pyramides omnino acceptas ferre debent. Nunc Guenhera se offert marito Arturio comitem.

Qualis Guenhera.

30

Guenheram ex progenie regulorum Coriniæ ortam facile crediderim, cum aliis argumentis innixus, tum hoc præcipue, quod Britannica referat historia eam in palatio Cadori Coriniani educatam fuisse, atque hinc ab Arturio in coniugem acceptam. Coniectura est, nec ea omnino incerta, nomen id Britannice sonare, 35 quod bella dona Italice & Gallice belle dame, Indubie a fama nomen inditum, vt Guenlleam id est alba Leonora, vel a coniectura Helena: ita vt albe vocabulum pulchram, bellam, venustam

exprimat. At vt de eius venustate satis constat, ita de pudicitia dubitatum est. Parcerem ipse quidem pro meo candore heroinarum læso honori, & fame: historiæ tamen veritas aurem vellit mihi, iubetque, & tantum non imperat, vt referam quid
 5 veteres de ea senserint. Tanto reluctari imperio mihi quidem religio, & magna. Britannica historia adfirmat eam non modo rem cum Mordredo Picto habuisse, verum etiam coniugio illi fuisse adiunctam. O scelera: o mores: o corrupta tempora. Vitæ scriptor Gildaicæ, autor quidem antiquus, sed in meo
 10 exemplari anonymus, hæc de Guenhera adultera prædicat. Arturius obfessit paludes vicinas Glesconicæ in odium Meluæ reguli, qui eo Guenheram raptam, & perductam vitiauerat. Est hoc testimonium de regina quauis raptam dicat, parum honorificum. Rapiuntur subinde eiusmodi formæ sua sponte. Vt
 15 que fuerit, hoc certissimum non longo superfuisse illam tempore a nece coniugis, & adulteri. At an morbo corporis aliquo, an animi iusto, quod ego facilius credo, mœrore obierit, non aperte constat. Scriptores referunt pœnitudine ductam eam velum sacrum Ambrosiæ induisse, ibidemque mortuam, ac sepultam,
 20 donec humanissimi Lanceloti Pugilis inuictissimi cum cura, tum pietas reliquias postea Aualoniam transtulisset. Scrupulus hic contra adulterii suspensionem suboritur. An commississet tam insignis Arturii amator, atque idem cultor, vt adulteram in sacratissimo cœmeterio propter illius sepulchrum terræ commit-
 25 teret? Historia Glesfoburgensis cœnobii accurate collecta perdocet Guenheram in sacro cœmeterio fuisse sepultam ad coniugis tumulum, & eius reliquias eodem tempore inuentas, quo & mariti. Confirmat hoc Syluester Giraldus Meneuensis in Institutione Principis his verbis de Arturio loquens. Habuerat
 30 enim vxores duas, quarum vltima scilicet cum ipso sepulta fuerat, & ossa ipsius cum ossibus viri simul inuenta, sic distincta tamen, vt duæ partes sepulchri versus caput, scilicet ossibus viri
 continendis, deputatæ fuissent: tertia vero ad pedes ossa seorsum muliebria contineret. Vbi & trica comæ muliebris flaua cum
 35 integritate pristina, & colore reperta fuit, quam vt monachus quidam auide manu arripuit, & subleuauit, tota statim in puluerem decidit. Idem Giraldus similia refert in Speculo ecclesiastico. Potuit ille quidem cum autoritate aliqua de hac re loqui, quandoquidem tum temporis in flagranti Richardi Leonii

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regis Angliæ gratia confirmatus, venit ipso tempore inuenti
sepulchri Gleffoburgum, & oculatus testis, duce Henrico de
Soliaco Henrici regis ex Adela nepote, & Richardi regis
confanguineo, tunc Præfide Gleffoburgensi, postea episcopo Ventę
Simenorum, omnia, quæ ad Arturium attinebant perdidicit. Atta- 5
men si hic mihi liceret libere quæ sentio dicere, adfirmarem
profecto longe certioris esse fidei ea, quæ de Arturii quam Guen-
heræ, sepultura traduntur. Nec tamen interim facio vim autoritati
veterum scriptorum, vt & meam aliquando non deteriori tractet
posteritas modo. Leguntur Gleffoburgi in tumultu Lydii mar- 10
moris fabre exculpto, & Arturio, iuxta ac Guenheræ posito, hii
duo versiculi suum redolentes sæculum

Hic iacet Arturi coniunx tumulata secunda,
Quæ meruit coelos virtutum prole secunda.¹

Sunt qui dicant Henricum Suinesium abbatem Gleffoburgensem 15
fuisse autorem versiculorum: nisi quis putet Henricum Blesensem
alias Soliacensem in Suinesii degenerasse nomen, cuius tempore
inuentæ & Arturii, & Guenheræ reliquiæ.² Quid autem sibi velint
Giraldus, & Henricus nomine vxoris secundæ | non satis hercle
intelligo, quando non alterius hactenus, quod meminerim quam 20
Guenheræ nomen, aut memoriam audiuerim. Sed sit fides penes
autores. Ex secundi versiculi hemistichio: virtutum prole secunda,¹
meliorem fuisse Guenheram, quam sæcundiozem apparet. Neque
hic me latet Boethium scribere, acriter aliquando depugnatum
fuisse inter Arturium, & Mordredum ad Humbrum fluuium, 25
& Guenheram a Pictis in castris ibidem captam, ac postea
mortuam, ac sepultam Horestiæ vico Angusiæ. Relinquo He-
ctorem Veremundi, & Turgoti obscurorum scriptorum fidei. Et
feri potuit vt illic alteri Guenheræ tumulus, non regine poneretur.

Inuentum Arturii sepulchrum.

30

Inualefcente Saxonum, a cæde Arturii potentia, & mox Pictis,
ac Scottis strenuissime profligatis, ac vltra vallum Seuerianum
abactis, cœperunt Saxones deuictorum Britannorum reliquias
non adeo timere, & multo minus magnificere, contemnere
aperte potius. Quare illorum gloria florere cœpit, Britannorum 35
vero deflorescere: Ita tamen vt nec Saxones amissi quicquam
pene de rebus inter ipsos,³ & Britannos eo tempore gestis

¹ Text, *secunda*.

² Text, *reliquiæ*.

³ Text, *tpfos*.

scriptum posteritati reliquerint, nam quæ post Christum cognitum, de primis Saxonum victoriis scripta sunt, ex historia per ora vulgi, & accepta, et chartis tradita sunt, aut Britanni tot bellis attriti, operam scribendi iustam vllum historiæ impenderint.

- 5 Tantum extant | fragmenta quædam Gildæ monachi Banno- Fol. 26.
chorensis Britannos potius vellicantis, exagitantis, lancinantis,
quam vlllo virtutum calculo adprobantis, vsque adeo vt conductus
ad male dicendum rhetor videatur. Hoc pacto res Britannica
obscura per calamitatem bellorum relicta est. Bardi soli musicis
10 numeris, & illustri nobilium memoriæ conferuandæ studebant.
Canebant illi ad lyram heroum facta inclyta. Profuit hoc
studium mirifice cognitioni, tanquam per manus posteritati
traditæ. Vnde equidem factum est vt Arturii quoque maximi
nomen, fama, gloria vtcunque conferuarentur. O factum bene.

- 15 Si quid mea carmina possunt,
Aonio statuam sublimis vertice Bardos,
Bardos Pieridum cultores, atque canentis
Phœbi delitias, quibus est data cura perennis,
Dicere nobilium clarissima facta virorum,
20 Aureaque excelsam famam super astra locare.

- Deuicerat Anglorum gentem, superis id permittentibus,
Gulielmus Nortomannus, & iam imperium Angliæ peruenerat ad
Henricum eius appellationis secundum nepotem ex Matildæ filia
Henrici Belloclerici, filium vero Galfredi Plantageniste Ande-
25 gauensis. Hic fines imperii prorogare modis omnibus studens
ad Hiberniæ quoque regnum adiecerat. Richardus
Claranus Comes Strigulienfis propter Vagam fluuium, vir &
natalibus, fortunis, ac virtute splendidissimus petierat, ante
a Deronutio Lageniæ regulo rogatus, Hiberniam: qua expedi-
30 tione tam fortiter se gessit, vt, proturbatis, fufis, ac victis regulo
obaudientibus, famam, & gloriam immortalem, ac, si hoc quic-
quam ad rem pertinet, opes etiam sibi comparauerit, accepta in Fol. 26
uxorem Eua Deronicii filia, & ex affe hærede. Senferat Henricus back.
rex Richardi Strigulienfis successus, & siue eius inuidebat gloriæ,
35 seu, quod veri similis est, prædam tam opimi regni ambiebat,
interdixit, proposito interim non contemnendo præmio,
Richardum Hiberniæ imperio. Prudens ille, percognito Prin-
cipis consilio, iuri suo cedere. Interea Henricus comparata

exercitus parte non minima in Cambriam peruenit reliquam con-
scripturus, & inde recta a Meneuia in Hiberniam, cuius spe
potiundæ totus conflagrabat, nauigare. Hæc dum agit, a Cam-
briæ regulis pro dignitate acceptus, in conuiujs Bardos ad lyram
concinenteis non sine voluptate, interprete vsus, audit. Erat 5
quidem vnus inter reliquos cognitione antiquitatis doctissimus.
Is laudes, & inclyta Arturii facta, Henricum victorem futurum
cum eo multis nominibus conferens, ita cecinit, vt aures regis
mirifice & demulceret, & delectaret: Quo etiam tempore rex hoc
præcipue a Bardo didicit sepultum fuisse Arturium Aualoniæ in 10
sacro cœmeterio. Vnde munificentissime dimisso Bardo tanti
monumenti indice, egit cum Henrico Blesensi alias Soliacensi
nepote suo, qui tum, aut paulo post ex abbate Bermundianæ
insulæ Præfectus Glesfoburgensis designatus est, vt diligentia
exquisitissima sepulchrum in septo sacri cœmeterii perquireret. 15
Tentatum est aliquoties: & tandem magna difficultate inuentum,
vltimis, vt quidam volunt annis Henrici secundi regis Angliæ,
vt autem alii, quibus ego facile assentio, principio imperii
Richardi primi eius filii. De hac reliquiarum cum indagatione,
Fol. 27. tum inuentione scripsere inter ceteros multos duo præcipue, 20
quorum vnus erat monachus Glesfoburgensis, sed nomine mihi
ignotus: alter vero Syluester Giraldus. Accessisset porro
& Gulielmus Meildunensis testis tertius vtrisque conferendus, nisi
mors eum de medio ante inuentionem sepulchri fenem abstulisset.
Horum in primis testimonio vtar, & in præsentia monachi 25
anonymi verba huc adducam. Conditus fuit rex Arturius sicut
per regem Henricum secundum abbas Henricus didicerat, cuius
consanguineus, & dudum familiaris extiterat. Rex autem hoc ex
gestis Britonum, & eorum cantoribus historicis frequenter
audiuerat Arturium sepultum¹ fuisse iuxta vetustam ecclesiam in 30
sacro cœmeterio inter duas pyramides quondam nobiliter sculp-
tas, ac in eius memoriam, vt dicitur, erectas. Fuit autem rex
Arturius sepultus valde profunde propter metum Saxonum, quos
ipse frequenter expugnauerat, & quos ab insula Britannica
prorsus eiecerat, & quos Mordredus eius nepos pessimus, contra 35
ipsum primo reuocauerat, ne in mortuum etiam vindicis animi
vitio defœuissent, qui totam iam insulam post mortem ipsius iterum
occupare contenderant. Propter eundem etiam metum, in

¹ Text, sepultum.

lapide quodam lato, tanquam ad sepulchrum, a fodientibus inuento quasi pedum septem sub terra: cum tamen sepulchrum Arturii nouem pedum inferius inuentum fuerit. Reperta est etiam crux plumbea non superiori, sed potius inferiori parti
 5 lapidis inserta literas has inscriptas habens. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLYTVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA. Crucem autem extractam a lapide, dicto abbate Henrico ostendente, | prospeximus, & has literas legimus: Sicut
 autem crux inferius lapidi inserta fuit: sic crucis literata pars, Fol. 27
back.
 10 vt occultior esset, versus lapidem versa erat. Mira quidem industria, & hominum tempestatis illius exquisita prudentia, qui corpus tanti viri, Dominique sui, praecipue loci illius patroni ratione turbationis instantis, totis nisibus tunc occultare volebant. Et tamen, vt aliquo posterum tempore, tribulatione cessante,
 15 per literarum saltem eruci insertarum, & quandoque repertarum indicia propalari posset, procurarunt. Sicut autem praedictus rex totum abbati praedixerat: sic Arturii corpus inuentum fuit, non in sepulchro marmoreo, vt regem decebat tam eximium, non in saxeo, aut Pariis lapidibus exciso, sed potius in ligneo ad hoc
 20 cauato, & sexdecim pedibus in terra profundo, propter festinam magis quam festiuam tanti principis humationem, tempore turbationis id exigente.

Anno Domini. 1189. Quadam die locum cortinis circundans fodere praecipit. De hinc profunditate nimia a fossoribus
 25 exquisita, iam pene desperati sarcophagum ligneum mirae magnitudinis inuenerunt vndique clausum. Quo leuato, ac aperto, regia inuenerunt ossa, quantitatis incredibilis, ita vt os tibiae a terra vsque ad medium crus in magno viro attingeret. Inuenerunt & crucem plumbeam altera parte sic inscriptam.
 30 HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLYTVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA. De hinc tumbam reginae Arturio consepultae aperientes, tricam mulieris flauam, & formosam miroque artificio confertam inueniunt, quae tacta ab illis in nihilum est comminuta. Abbas igitur, & conuentus suscipientes |
 35 eorum exuias cum gaudio in maiorem transtulerunt ecclesiam Fol. 28.
 in mausoleo nobiliter exculpto intrinsecus bipertito collocantes: regium videlicet corpus per se ad caput tumbae: reginam ad pedes scilicet in orientali parte: vbi vsque in hodiernum diem magnifice requiescunt. Hoc autem epitaphium tumbae inscribitur,

Hic iacet Arturus flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas commendant laude perenni.

Hucusque diligentissime, simul & fidelissime ex Glessoburgensi codice in præsentem hæc convertimus vsu. Sed quoniam videtur mihi epitaphium nescio quid stridulum personare, & vitium sæculi parum eloquentis secum trahere, ac postremo breuius, & humilius esse, quam ut tanto conueniat Imperatori, nos aliud sacrosanctæ doctorum memoriæ, & posteritati in eius laudem dedicauimus.

Saxonicas toties qui fudit marte cruento	10
Turmas, & peperit spoliis sibi nomen opimis.	
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui condidit ense,	
Impofuitque iugum Scotti ceruicibus ingens:	
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quique feroceis	
Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:	15
Denique Mordredum e medio qui fustulit illud	
Monstrum, horrendum ingens, dirum, seuumque tyrannum,	
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arturius alto	
Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:	
Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,	20
Athereiique petit sublimia tecta Tonantis.	
Vos igitur gentis proles generosa Britannæ	
Induperatori ter magno assurgite vestro,	
Et tumulo sacro roseas inferte corollas,	
Officii testes redolentia munera vestri.	25

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Nunc oportune prodit Syluester Giraldus ille oculatus inuentaram reliquiarum Arturii testis, & calculum his verbis suum commodè apponit. Huius autem corpus, quod quasi phantasticum in fine, & tanquam per spiritus ad longinqua translatus, neque morti obnoxium fabulæ confinxerant, his nostris diebus 30 apud Glasconiam inter pyramides duas in cœmeterio sacro quondam erectas, profundius in terra quercu concaua reconditum, & signatum miris indiciis, & quasi miraculosis est inuentum, & in ecclesiam cum honore translatus, marmoreoque decenter tumulo commendatum. Vnde & crux plumbea lapide superposito; non 35 superius, ut affolet, sed inferiori potius ex parte infixæ, quam nos quoque vidimus, namque tractauimus, literas has insculptas, &

non eminentis & extanteis, sed magis interius ad lapidem verſas continebat. HIC IACET SEPVLTVS INCLTVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA. Sequuntur & hæc ibidem. Cum autem & aliqua indicia corporis ibi inueniendi
 5 ex ſcripturis ſuis, aliqua ex pyramidibus impreſſis, quanquam nimia vt plurimum antiquitate deletis: maxime tamen & euidentiffime rex Angliæ Henricus ſecundus, ſicut ab hiſtorico cantore Britone audiuerat antiquo, totum monachis indicauit: ſcilicet quod profunde in terra per ſexdecim pedes ad minus
 10 inuenirent, & non lapideo in tumulo, ſed in quercu cauata. Ideoque tam profunde ſitum corpus, & quaſi abſconditum fuerat, ne a Saxonibus poſt necem illius inſulam occupantibus, quos viuens tantopere debellauerat, & fere deleuerat, poſſet vllatenus inueniri. Et ob | hoc literæ veritatis indices cruc Fol. 29.
 15 impreſſæ interius ad lapidem verſæ fuerunt, vt & tunc temporis quod continebant, occultarent, & quandoque pro locis, & temporibus id propalarent. Preterea & hæc quoque ibidem ſcribit. Sciendum etiam quod oſſa reperta corporis Arturii tam grandia fuerunt, vt & illud poetæ completum in his uideri poſſet

20 Grandiaque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris.

Os enim tibiæ ipſius appoſitum tibiæ longiſſimi viri, quem & nobis abbas oſtendit, & iuxta pedem terræ illius adfixum large tribus digitis trans genu ipſius ſe porrexit. Os etiam capitis tanquam ad prodigium, vel oſtentum capax erat, &
 25 groſſum, adeo, vt inter cilium, & oculos palmalem amplitudinem large contineret. Apparebant in hoc decem, aut plura vulnera, quæ cuncta præter vnum, maius cæteris, quod hiatum grandem fecerat, quodque ſolum letale videretur, in ſolidam concreuerant cicatricem. Nunc ſi quem iuuabit vel ipſa eadem, quæ modo
 30 recitauimus ex Giraldo, vel his non admodum diſſimilia repetere, legat eius librum Speculum videlicet eccleſiaſticum, vbi duo huius materiæ capita elucent. Interim hic habeo quod me tenet dubium. Nam Giralduſ adfirmat ſepulchrum quercinum fuiſſe, quod vt falſum eſſe non ſtatim pronuncio: ita inſinuabo
 35 ea, quæ mihi contrarium vehementer ſuadeant. Primum alnorum ingentium numerus ibidem ſoli propicia quadam natura excreſcentium. Tum præterea Aualonianos tam ignaros rerum naturalium non fuiſſe puto, vt quercum crederent diuturniorem

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futuram in subhumida terra, quam alnum aquaticam, & loci incolam. Qui de arboribus scripsere humidiufcula loca alnis, | & vlmis producendis lubenter attribuunt. Supereft & scrupulus alter, qui, fi ego quicquam recte iudico, excuffus femel error potius, quam scrupulus plane videbitur. Confirmat Giraldus 5 inuentum fuiſſe Arturii ſepulchrum inter duas pyramides in ſacro Aualoniæ cœmeterio, in qua opinione, vtpote teſtimonio anti- quorum ſcriptorum confirmatus, et ego quoque ſum. At tantum abeſt vt credam quicquam in illis exculptum, quod ſepulchrum Arturii, id quod agit Giraldus, indicet, exprimat, illuſtret, vt mihi 10 nihil fiat minus veriſimile. Si quicquam fuiſſet, quis illud quæſo rectius, aut plenius Gulielmo- Meilduneniſi, cui vni elucubratas eorundem tum imagines, tum inſcriptiones debet poſteritas omnis, explicuiſſet? At ille ibi ne Gry quidem de Arturio alias ab eo accurate collaudato. Eſt equidem coniectura probabilis Giral- 15 dum penitus ignorafſe quid inſcriptionum pyramides continuerint, cum dicat literas præ antiquitate deletas. Quin Giraldum virum alioqui ſane doctum, & magnum vetuſtæ cognitionis helluonem, omitto, alia nec inutili prouacatus cura: nempe vt inuentum Arturii ſepulchrum non modo duorum, quos ſupra nominaui, 20 ſuffragio, verum numero ſcriptorum iuſto confirmem, ſtabiliam,¹ denique tanquam ratum perſuadeam. Quoque id commodius fiat, puto conuenire cauſæ, vt ſingula illuſtrium virorum, ſerie quadam expedita, & lucida, teſtimonia altius repetam. Qua parte Claudius homo Gallus, vt lector intelligat fidem inuenti ſepulchri 25 vel ad externos integram perueniſſe, abunde magnus teſtis erit.

Fol. 30.

Anno D. 1217. Corpus inclyti² regis Britannię Arturii quod ſexcentis, & amplius annis delituerat inuenitum eſt in eccleſia D. Mariæ Gleſſenburie. Hic in annorum computatione aut autoris, aut, vt candidius interpretor, librarii incuria irrepiſit 30 mendum. Nam obiit Henricus ſecundus rex Angliæ circa annum a Chriſto nato milleſimum centeſimum nonageſimum, & inuentum eſt ſepulchrum primis annis imperii Richardi eius filii. Chronica Perforana hæc referunt. Anno D. 1191. Sepulchrum inclyti regis Arturii apud Glaſconiam, cruce plumbea ſuper pectus 35 nomen eius inſcriptum declarante, repertum eſt. Ioannes Fiberius, qui & vulgo Beuer dictus, hæc breuiſſime, & in tranſcurſu ſcribit. Anno D. 1191. Inuenta ſunt oſſa Arturii Gleſconie. Matthæus

¹ Text, *ſtabiliem*.² Text, *incyti*.

Parisius monachus Fani Albani ad ruinas Verolamii vrbis antiquissimæ Catieuchlanorum, sepulchri sic meminit. Inuenta sunt apud Glasconiam ossa famosissimi regis Arturii in quodam vetustissimo recondita sarcophago circa quod duæ antiquissimæ
 5 pyramides stabant erectæ, in quibus literæ exaratæ erant, sed ob nimiam barbariem, & deformitatem, legi non potuerunt. Inuenta autem sunt hac occasione. Dum enim ibi effoderent ut quendam monachum sepelirent, qui hunc locum sepulturæ vehementi in vita desiderio præoptauerat, quoddam reperiunt
 10 sarcophagum, cui crux plumbea superposita fuerat in qua exaratum erat. HIC IACET INCLYTUS BRITONVM REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA SEPVLTVS. Locus autem ille paludibus vndique inclusus, olim insula Aualonis, id est pomorum insula est vocatus. Ut merito auctoritati
 15 Matthæi plurimum faueo, sic dolet aliquot voculas redundanteis eius accessisse orationi in inscriptione. Illud | certe quod de monacho refert audiui ante plane nunquam, nec vsque adeo mihi fidem facit. Ranulphus Higedenus Castrensis meminit etiam Arturiani sepulchri. Alios data opera omitto ne numerum
 20 testium in re tam liquido cognita, & recepta adfectasse videar.

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Translatio reliquiarum Arturii.

Memini me in epistola dedicatoria de exuviis Arturii ter translatis locutum. Quarum quæ prima fuit, quia non satis perspicue per maius templum, quo scribunt principio traductas fuisse,
 25 apparet, aliquid apertius, & lucidius lectori significabo. Didici a Glesfoburgensibus monachis obseruatoribus antiquitatis sui cœnobii plane studiosissimis reliquias in magnam basilicam, quod opus in immensum beneficio Henrici Plantagenistæ excreuit, fuisse a sacro cœmeterio translatas: at non eo tunc loco, quo
 30 nunc sunt positas. Porticus ad meridiem est, & sacellum, quo itur in gazophylacium. Hic adfirmabant ossa aliquandiu quieuisse. Deinde iterum translata fuisse in presbyterii sinus medios: qua temporis intercapedine,¹ nouum, sublime, magnificum sepulchrum ex marmore nigro, quale Lydium esse videmus, insolita quidem
 35 arte, & ingenio tum excisum, tum compactum est, de quo vna cum translatione iam scribere superuacaneum sane esset, quando capite præcedenti de Inuento Arturii tumulo, ea comparent suo

¹ Text, *intercapidine*.

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ordine omnia. Ad tertiam igitur nostra se conuertat oratio, quæ tempore Eadueardi Longi regis Angliæ non modo maximi laudatoris, verum etiam admiratoris, peneque cultoris Arturianæ famæ, facta est, relictis in sepulchro magnificentissimo, in quo prius conquiescebant, exuiis omnibus præter Regis, & Reginae cranea, quæ iussit foris feruari, gratum profecto nobilitati eo confluenti antiquitatis spectaculum. Vtque nunc tam nobile Eadueardi nunquam fatis laudati facinus æternitate gaudeat, referam singula huc pertinentia ex archiuis Glessoburgensis monasterii fidelissime desumpta, quorum & autor fuit idem monachus Glessoburgensis, cui cura ardentissima inerat Arturium iustis celebrare præconiis, & res ab eo gestas fide integra posteritati commendare. Non defuit scriptori ordo lucidus, aut ingenium. Sed ætas illa nec Græcam, nec Romanam familiarem habebant eloquentiam. Qualiacunque ea sunt, vt ipse scripsit, ita ego ordine recitabo, illud interim oportune expendens, non quam elegancia, sed quam digna, & quam vera referat.

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Anno D. 1276. Eadueardus rex Henrici tertii filius venit cum regina sua Glefconiam. Die vero Martis proxima sequente fuit rex, & tota curia acceptus sumptibus monasterii. Quo die in crepusculo fecit aperiri sepulchrum inclyti regis Arturii, vbi in duabus cistis imaginibus, & armis eorum depictis, ossa dicti regis miræ grossitudinis separata inuenit. Imago quidem reginæ coronata, Imaginis reginæ corona fuit prostrata cum abscissione sinistræ auriculæ, & vestigiis plagæ, vnde moriebatur. Inuenta est scriptura super his singulis manifesta. In crastino videlicet die Mercurii Rex ossa regis, Regina ossa reginæ in singulis palleis preciosis reuoluta in suis cistis recludentes, & sigilla sua apponentes præceperunt idem sepulchrum ante maius altare celeriter collocari, retentis exterius capitibus vtriusque propter populi deuotionem, apposita interius scriptura eiusmodi: Hæc sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arturii, quæ anno dominicæ incarnationis. 1278. decimo tertio Calend. Maii, per Dominum Eadueardum regem Angliæ illustrem hic fuerunt sic collocata, præsentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem Regis consorte, & filia domini Ferrandi regis Hispaniæ, magistro Gulielmo de Midleton tunc Norwicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke archidiacono Dorsetensi, & prædicti regis thesaurario. Domino Henrico de Lafcey Comite Lincolnig. Domino Amadio Comite Sabaudia,

& multis magnatibus Angliæ. Hactenus monachus Gleffoburgensis, cuius diligentia, memoria tam præclari facti immortalis facta est. I nunc Gulielme Parue, vna cum Succenturione tuo, & fortiter pernega Arturium aliquando aut vixisse, aut vicisse.

5 Me certe opinionis, immo erroris tui, nec participem, nec fautorem, sed neque riualet habebis vnquam. Flagitium me hercle non modo flagris, sed grauissimo quoque supplicio dignum, vt quis gloriæ patriæ suæ derogat, Principibus de re publica rectissime meritis suam inuideat famam, virtuti denique,

10 & factis vndecunq̃ue illustribus non assurgat. Spero equidem lectores candidissimi futurum, vt vos adiutores, cognita causæ tum equitate, tum veritate facileis habeam, & gratiam pro officio erga rem publicam meo, quæ vestra est beneuolentia, humanitas, candor, magnam libenter relatueros. Hoc ego interim fretus

15 omine omnem plane mouebo lapidem, vt noua comparata fortitudine, eaque | confirmatissima in harenam descendam debellaturus calumniatorum turbam laudibus Arturii importune, moleste, inuide obstreptentium. Sic etenim operi veluti colophonem addere omnino apud me constitui.

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20 *Conuulsio calumniarum temere adfirmanrium Arturium non fuisse.*

Historici certant, & adhuc sub iudice lis est, quo tempore Arturius floruerit. Atque hoc certamen ita excreuit, & inualuit, vt scrupuli de vniuersa historiæ fide, quæ eius res gestas prædicat,

25 lectorum fibris nunc hæreant. Quin hæc tam imbecillis est calumnia, vt accurata non egeat responsione vlla. Valerius eum floruisse dicit tempore Zenonis imperatoris. Hector vero Boethius Iustiniani tempore, barbaris Italiam occupantibus. Denique alii, alia scribunt, De tempore non admodum laboro,

30 fuerit modo. Quanquam vel hinc tempus facile colligitur videlicet ab imperio Aureliani Ambrosii, cuius et Paulus Diaconus mentionem facit. Dixerit forsitan aduersariorum aliquis. Qui factum est, vt Arturii non meminerit Paulus? Respondeo aliud egisse Paulum, quam vt Britannos a Romanis tantum non dere-

35 lictos anxie celebraret. Nihil interim detrahit dignitate Arturii, aut historiæ, quod ab eo non nominetur: cum interim bona pars nobilium orbis totius silentio præmatur ab eodem. Illud magnum

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plane videtur habere momentum, quod | Gildas scriptor Britannus nihil prorsus de Arturio scribat. Sunt qui citent Gildæ testimonium in eius tum gratiam, tum laudem. Sed ille quidem fictitius est Gildas, & blattis, & tineis ad Ifidis vadium in bibliotheca Maridunensi prædæ expositus. Gildas a Polidoro editus, 5 fragmentum indubie Gildæ veteris, sed mancum, luxatum, & mutilum, usque adeo, ut, si iam vitæ restitueretur, vix foetum agnosceret parens. Scripsisse eum libros constat titulo Cambreidos, inuentos octuaginta, & amplius ab hinc annis in Hibernicis insulis, & in Italiam traductos. Ut sit historia Gildæ 10 integra: qui potuit de Arturio quicquam recte tanquam oculatus testis pronunciare, cum ipsemet dicat se natum fuisse anno Badonici belli, quod Arturii victoria, & quidem clarissima, teste Nennio, fuit. Hostis colligit. Gildas nullam prorsus Arturii mentionem facit: ergo non fuit. Arguta plane collectio, qualis 15 & hæc. Gildas non meminit Aruiragi, Lucii, aut Constantini Magni, proinde non fuerunt. O nouum dialectices acumen. Et tamen hoc tam infirmo corroboratus, ut sibi quidem videtur, argumento, palmarium facile se adeptum arbitratur. Hoccine est Italicum acumen? Profecto iam ægre ulterius non patiar 20 dici Ultramontanus. Et plane. Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt. Scio interim quid Cambri scriptores de Gildæ silentio, quantum ad Arturium pertineat, sentiant: videlicet Hoelum Gildæ consanguineum ab Arturio occisum causam neglecti eius nominis fuisse. Sed nolo huic inniti præ- 25 fidio: bellum potius cum eo gesturus, quod hac labe suos Britannos ingratus, ac idem parum prudens, ne dicam impius, asperferit. Britanni nec in bello | fortes, nec in pace fideles. Nisi profecto viderer adfectui, aut stomacho indulgere, ipse in Britanno mastigem ferrum, & quidem acutum animose stringerem. 30 Sed impetum temperabo meum, aliunde propugnatores in medium fortissimos adducturus, ne adfectus vim fecisse meus alicui videatur. Syluester Giraldus in topographia Cambriæ promittit responsum se huic Gildæ calumniæ in Britannica topographia, quem librum eum olim scripsisse non dubito, sed nostris temporibus 35 nullo, quod ego sciam, loco extat. Quid interim scribat secundo libro de Cambriæ descriptione in medium proferam. Sed quando Iulius Cæsar, qui tantus erat, quantus & orbis, sub Cæsiuallano duce, Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

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Nunquid non fortes fuere? Quid etiam quando Bellinus,
& Brennus Romanum imperium suis addidere victoriis? Quid
Helenæ nostræ filii Imperatoris tempore Constantini? Quid
Aurelii Ambrosii regno, quem & laudibus Paulus Diaconus
5 effert? Et Arturii nostri famosi tempore quanti fuere?

Iosephus Iscæ Domnoniorum alumnus in Antiocheide sic
canit.

Inclyta fulsit

Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot diues alumnis,
10 Tot foecunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem,
Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus
Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
Hinc Senonum ductor captiua Brennius vrbe,
Romuleas domuit flammis vitricibus arces.
15 Hinc & Sæua satus, pars non obscura tumultus
Ciuilis, magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
Hinc celebri fato felici floruit ortu
Flos regum Arturus, cuius cum facta stupori,
20 Non micuere minus, totus quod in aure voluptas,
Et populo plaudente fauus. Quæcunque priorum
Inspice. Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum.
Pagina Cæsareos loquitur famosa triumphos.
Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstros.
25 Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sidera solem
Aequant, Annales Latios, Graiosque reuolue.
Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes
Solut, præteritis melior, maiorque futuris.

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back.

30 Quam hæc non respondeant Gildæ titulis prudens lector
abunde videt, & sentit laudes Arturii prius in medium adductas,
huic loco tam bene conuenire, vt neceffe pene habeam eas repetere,
nullo, vt spero, meo vitio, vestra, si vere iudico lectores, voluptate
plurima. Habent enim versus præcendentes suum genium victu-
35 rum quidem illum. Tum præterea concinnitate quadam apta,
elegantia pura, maiestate iusta, ita tersis adblandiuntur auribus, vt
decies repetiti nisi me vehementer fallit meus adfectus, perplace-
bunt. Ponticus Virunnius homo Italus, philobritannus tamen,
Polydoro Italo merito iratus hæc intonat. O admirabile tunc

genus Britonum, qui eum, Cæsarem intelligit, bis in fugam expulerunt, qui totum orbem submiserat occidentis: cui quasi totus mundus postea nequiuisset resistere, illi etiam fugati resistunt, parati mortem pro patria, & libertate subire. Hinc ad laudem eorum canit Lucanus de Cæsare.

5

Fol. 34.

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

Hic si multitudine testimoniorum potius, quam solida rei veritate niterer, possem & Ioannis Annæuillani versiculos ex Archireno libello argute canoro de fortitudine Britannorum desumere. Sic enim importune in Britannorum iustas laudes obstrepentium¹⁰ os præstructo occluderem uallo. Sed videor mihi pluris, quam conuenit, oblocutores istos facere. Dispereant, & inuidia rumpantur sua: quando Britannicus honor per huiusmodi tenebriones nec stat, nec cadit. At interim, ne non fatis promissi memor videar, rursus repeto harenam, vim argumentorum ab aduersariis¹⁵ comparatam infirmaturus. Scriptores, inquit, Romani non fecerunt mentionem Arturii, quare verisimile est eum non fuisse. Si nihil sit verum, nisi quod ex Romana constet autoritate, male consultum esset historiæ vniuersi orbis. Infinita vis rerum memorabilem, & nobilitatis pendet potius ab incolis oculatis²⁰ domi testibus, quam ex incerta exterorum relatione. Romani autem vniuersum pene orbem feruum reddiderunt, & scriptores apud eos nati, & educati sua facta vel admirabilia eloquentiæ innixi studio fecerunt. Cæterorum vero facta, vel ita obscurabant, vel eleuabant, vt nulla pene facerent.²⁵ Agebatur enim vt elegantissime, non autem verissime causam dicerent. Talia pingebant in chartis, qualia sperare potius a prudentissimis Ducibus, quam facta videre liceat. Nec mirum plane est quod de Arturio nihil memoriæ prodiderint. Gotthi eo tempore Italiam inuaserant, & barbaries pro eloquentia³⁰ inuecta, vsque adeo, vt literis honor rarus, præmia rarissima decernerentur. Et res non per scriptores, sed | per bellatores agebatur. Quare si quid certi de Arturio, illud potius a Britannicis scriptoribus qualibuscunque, quam ab infantia, & ignorantia Romanorum eo tempore non modo a scribendi functione³⁵ declinantium, verum etiam de sua, relictis aliis rebus omnibus, calamitate multis quotidie modis irruente cogitantium. Subinfert alius vaniora esse in historia Arturii, quam vt a maturo, & sapiente facile admittantur. Si de illa sentit, quæ a vulgo

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Italice, Hispanice, Gallice, & Anglice legitur non admodum con-
 tendo. Quanquam meminerit æquus lector idem factitatum, & in
 historia circumforanea Caroli, Rolandi, Gotthofridi, Guidonis,
 & Bellouesi, vt alios omittam multos. Nec inde tamen eorum
 5 nomina, aut veræ fides historiæ, sublata. Non est nouum fabu-
 losa veris miscere, studio certe hoc quodam factum, vt scriptores
 plebem simplicem admiratione quadam detinerent, auditis rerum
 miraculis. Sic Hercules, sic Alexander, sic Arturius, sic Carolus
 laudati. At alia longe ratio est Arturianæ, quam ego com-
 10 plector, historiæ. Nam quæ non constant ratione temporum,
 quæ non sunt probabilia, quæ non subsidia auctorum
 fide coherent, quæ non longo sæculorum vfu, & doctorum
 suffragio sunt recepta, & comprobata, non temere admitto.
 Fuit multis abhinc annis magna contentio Graio auctori, vt
 15 opinor, Scalæchronicorum cum hac calumniatorum turba. Illi
 obiectus Beda qui silentio magno Arturium præterit. Cui illi sic
 argute, seuere, prudenter respondet. Forſitan repudiauit homo
 sanctulus Principem ex adulterio natum. Fieri etiam potuit, vt
 auditis aliquot Bardorum de eo vaticiniis, animum ab vniuerſa
 20 deflexerit | historia. Sed illa nec fidem addunt, nec adimunt, Fol. 35
 Illud veriffimum Bedam virum alioqui bonum, & doctum gloriam
 Britannici nominis non ſolum leuem facere, ſed & contemnere¹
 quoque. Nam inter illos, & Saxones de imperio Britanniae
 agebatur. Romanus pontifex Anglo-saxones in imperio peſſime
 25 parto conſeruare ſtudebat. Britanni hoc nomine male eius
 capiti precari. Ille Saxones odio quodam rurfus in eos armare.
 Quas igitur laudes potuerunt Britanni a Saxoniciſ ſperare ſcrip-
 toribus? Frigidus plane, aut nullas. Adde huc, quod & Beda
 rerum ante tempora Gildæ Britannicarum ignarus vt plurimum
 30 erat: adeo vt nec coronarii operis trophæum ſpectabile ad
 Ambroſiam vel de fama nouerit. Credibile eſt calamitatem
 bellicam, quæ eccleſias vna cum bibliothecis exhaueſerat infinitis
 clara vetuſtatis monumenta abraſiſſe. Vnde ſcripturienti de
 antiquitate Britannica occultiſſima pleraque omnia. Sunt qui
 35 putent multa in Armoricam tranſlata, quanquam & ab illa
 pauciſſima hac ætate ſperanda, præterquam quod in exemplaribus
 vetuſtiſſimis de vitis ſanctorum e Britannia eo commigrantium
 pauca extant, ſed quæ lucem obſcuris adferant. Gulielmus
 Paruus Brillendunenſis in prologo historiæ ſuæ ſic fulminat.

¹ Text, *conemnere*.

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back.

Galfredus hic dictus est, cognomen habens Arturii, qui diuinationum illarum nēnias ex Britannica lingua transtulit, quibus, vt non frustra creditur, ex proprio figmento multa adiecit. Hæc ille per stomachum, & contemptum. At ego illi frustra creditur, occinam vel perpetuo, nisi id rationibus potius, quam nudis 5 probet verbis. Satis superque scio multas fabulas, & vanitates per vniuersam sparsas esse Britannicam historiam. | Sunt ibi tamen, si quis penitus inspiciat, talia, qualia magno desiderarentur antiquæ cognitionis incommodo, & quæ a Gulielmo lecta, potius quam intellecta, nullum præ se tulerunt commodum, Rursus 10 apponam & aliud eiusdem honorificum scilicet, non modo de historiæ interprete, verum etiam de Arturio ipso testimonium. Liquet a mendacibus esse conficta, quæcunque de Arturio, & Merlino ad pascendum minus prudentium curiositatem homo 15 ille scribendo vulgavit. Vt sexcenties obganniat: fuit quidem Merlinus vir in rerum naturalium cognitione, & præcipue in Mathesi vel ad miraculum vsque eruditus: quo nomine Principibus eius ætatis merito gratissimus erat, longeque alius, quam vt se putaret subiiciendum iudicio alicuius cucullati, & desidis monachi. Sed Arturium, & Merlinum, illum fortio- 20 rem, hunc eruditorem, quam vt plebis vel dicacitatem, vel importunitatem curent, omittam. Illud, quod monachus monacho etiam mortuo inuidet mihi iniquissimum videtur. Poterat Gulielmus Paruus maiorem a viuis, quam mortuis sperasse victoriam. Hoc interim in lucro esse deputabat ferire non reperiendum. At si quicquam 25 manes de humanis rebus sciunt, persenserit adeo se non reportasse victoriam a Galfredo præter æquum, & honestum exagito, vt eius de vulnere sibi perpetuum vulnus contraxerit, & sanguinem. Nec est quod Vrbinatem medicum adfuturum speret, cum & ipse interim languidus periti cura vehementer 30 indigeat. Superest & aliud vulnus, quo Gulielmus putauit se Galfridum uel iugulasse. Sic enim insurgit. Nec unum quidem archiepiscopum unquam habuere Britones. Hoccine apud 35 Brigantes didicisti? Afferius Meneuensis, olim Alfredi Magni regis Angliæ præceptor aliud me docuit his uerbis in libro Annalium suorum. Qui sepe depredabatur, Heimeidum regulum intelligit, illud monasterium, & parociam S. Degwi id est Davidis, aliquando expulsi- 40 one antistitum, qui in eo præessent, sicut & nobis archiepiscopum propinquum meum, & me aliquando expulit sub

Fol. 36.

- ipsis. Giraldus refert, & fide optima, Dubricium Ifcanum archiepiscopum fuisse. Est enim Isca Demetarum vrbs nobilissima, & antiquissima propter ripas fluminis eiusdem nominis sita, quæ & Legionum ciuitas a Romanis dicebatur. Translata idem
- 15 Meneuiam dignitas, vbi sanctissimus, atque idem doctissimus Daud archiepiscopi enituit dignitate. Sampson clarissimæ vir memoriæ archiepiscopus Meneuensis, Ictericam pestem fugiens, Armoricam petiit: vnde origo Dolenfis archiepiscopatus. A tempore autem Sampsonis, vsque ad Nortomannorum de
- 10 Cambria victorias, episcopi Transfabrini omnes tanquam a suffragiis consecrati sunt a Meneuensi primate suo, qui mordicus ius omne suum, cessante pallio, retinuit. Apparet etiam ex Dialogo Syluestri Giraldi Canonicos Meneuenses tempore Daudis episcopi, qui Bernhardo successit egisse cum Richardo
- 15 Magno Cantiorum archiepiscopo, coram Hugutione Cardinale, de Metropolitano suæ ecclesie iure, de quo & ipse Giraldus postea electus in episcopum Meneuensem Romæ solícite tractabat. Atque, vt antiquiora repetam, Ptolemæus Lucensis, qui vitas Romanorum pontificum scripsit, in Eleutherio narrat vt tres
- 20 Britanniae Protoflamines conuersi sint in totidem archiepiscopos Fol. 36
back. Londinium Trenouantum, & Eboracum Brigantum hac indubie splendebant dignitate. Vbi igitur sedes tertia? vbi? nisi in Cambria. Qua parte, vt ego fileam, testis & quidem luculentus est Trittemius in Compendio annalium. An non pudeat
- 25 Gulielmum Paruum præceptorem tam vana Polydoro discipulo longe eo eruditiori inculcasse? Ecce autem aliud ex alio malum. Acceptus error vsque adeo multos iam infecit, vt vix vllò helleboro, etiam si Anticyram peterent, malum medicabile. Et tamen interim coguntur, nescio qua violenta autoritate, de præceptore
- 30 bene sentire. Duras esse has partes ego prædico. Præceptoribus profecto meis omnia felicia opto. At cum de veritate, & fide causæ agitur adfectus erga illos plane nullus, non certe si mox scirem eos capiundos esse mihi vel hostes omneis.

Peroratio.

- 35 Hactenus lectores humanissimi Arturium suis expressi coloribus, non sine diligentia, labore, ac studio denique propensò: at interim an pari eloquentia, gratia, & felicitate, candidorum, iuxta ac eruditorum sit iudicium: Nam ego probe noui, quam

Fol 37.

mihi sit curta domi supellex : quo nomine nihil quicquam mihi
 vendico, temerarius plane, & parum prudens si id committerem.
 Tantum uolui in re honesta periculum ingenii facere, historiæ
 laboranti opem ferre, gloriam patriæ, inuidia interceptam, &
 feruam infidiis maleuolorum, | libertate candide restituere. Scio 5
 futurum, vt insultent aduersarii potentissimi. Vincant potentia,
 modo veritas nostra sit. Imitabor generosam palmam, quæ oneri
 pressa cedit nunquam. Sed neque in præsentia pro munere
 quicquam ambio. Adsit vestra humanitas, beneuolentia, gratia :
 certe omnia adesse merito crediderim. Accedet vna quoque 10
 ad cumulum dextera promptitudo, expedita alacritas, ignescens
 etiam per virtutem impetus non solum ad similia, verum ad
 maiora quoque exhibenda, quæ doctas excitent aures, excitas
 longum detineant, detentas veluti torrente quodam voluptatis
 secum ad amœna deducant. Et hæc mihi omnia, vestro fretus 15
 candore, auxilioque, in spem plane erectissimus facile polliceor.
 Vestra quidem mea tota quanta est Musa : nec alio vsquam
 quam ad vos, & publicam tendit vtilitatem. Absurdum plebi
 seruire, at vobis perpetuam præstare operam, non procul a
 regno est, quale merito vel Alexandrino præferam. Quid enim 20
 ille amplius ex tantis opibus, fortunis, ditionibus sibi moriens
 integrum conseruauit, præter famam. Hanc, licet multis
 calculis exemplo inferiorem, per vos partam tamen ita
 folicite promouebo, vt noctes, atque dies vestræ inuigilet
 commoditati, ac tandem excussis tenebris 25

ignorantiæ crassissimis quidem illis,

lumen antiquitatis Britannicæ

diffusis late radiis eluceat.

Viuite,¹ & valete bona-

rum literarum fau-

tores candi-

dissimi.

30

¹ Text, *Viuete*.

ARTVRIVS REDIVIVVS.

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back.

*Optima spes rerum mæstos solata Britannos
Sorte reuicturum promisit, et omine læto
Arturum, obscuro lucem qui redderet orbi.
Tempus adest. Victor prodit rediuiuus in auras,
Festa triumphali redimitus tempora lauro.
Hoc quoque ueridici uates cecinere futurum.
Martia cæruleos repetit sic palma Britannos.*

ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

10 *Contulit Hectoreis arguta uoce triumphis
Eduerdum Viduus doctissimus ille Nigellum,
Et facti pretium tulit immortale poeta.
Impetus hinc crescens animi generosus honesti,
Me iubet Henrici titulos extollere magni,
15 Et conferre quidem multis uictoribus unum.
Inter quos præstans Arturius eminet heros,
Sæpe Caledonios qui Scottos, quique superbos
Perdomuit Gallos indicti fulmine belli.
Præstitit hæc eadem, longe et maiora supremus
20 Henricus, felix Octaui nomine uictor.
Castra puellarum cecidere. Bononia fracta est
Adque suos rediit patriæ pater almus, et idem
Commisssi sceleris uindex Arturius alter.
Nunc superest uictis tristissima mortis imago,
25 Et sua fata uocant Scotti, Morinique sinistra.*

Elenchus antiquorum nominum.

Fol. 38.

Abrinus ab Abro Britannico vocabulo, quod ostiorum in
fluminibus nomen est. Ab hac appellatione nomen duobus
æstuariis totius Britannæ maximis inditum est, quorum vulgus
30 scriptorum unum Sabrinam, alterum uero Humbrum barbare,
et corrupte uocant.

Alaunus frequens fluuiorum nomen, Britannice Alaun,
Saxonice Aile, cuius & appellationis tres sunt in Corinia.

Ambrosia vicus non incelebris Vilugianæ prouinciæ propter
35 trophæum coronarii operis sepultura nobilium illustre, Aurelianus

Ambrosius originem loco dedit. Nostra ætas vicum Saxonice Ambresbyri appellat.

Armorica nunc Britannia continentis sic dicta quod littoralis. Sonat enim super mare.

Aualonia. Britannice Inis Aualon, Latine insula pomifera. 5 Dicitur præterea Britannice Inis witrin a vitreo aquarum vicinarum colore.

Badonicus mons, Britannice Cair badon. Ptolomæo Græco Thermæ, Antonino Latino Aquæ folis, aliis quoque Balnea. At illud parum apposite, cum balnea humana caleant industria. 10 Badonicus mons misere a Polydoro quæsitus, at non inuentus, apud Brigantes inter montes Blachemorinos.

Brigantes qui nunc Eboracenses, & a Saxonibus partim Deiri. Boethius Scottus strenue dormitat in hac parte.

Brillendunum, vulgo Bridlington, oppidulum, et portus Ifuro- 15 uicanæ alias Eboracensis prouinciæ. Locus quidem olim illustratus a Gualterio Gisbrithi Gandauensis filio.

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back.

| Caledonii dicti a Romanis Britanni Caledoniæ fyluæ incolæ, quæ magnam Scotiæ partem olim penetrauit.

Clarus fons, Saxonice Shirburne, nomine quidem appposito, 20 vocatus. Aldelmus doctissimus episcopus sedem ibi posuit Inæ regis Visifaxonum liberalitate.

Camaletum castrum olim magnificentissimum in ipsis Murotri- gum limitibus. Britannice Camalete, alias Cairmalet.

Catyeuchlani celebres Ptolomæo, quorum ciuitas prima Vero- 25 lamium Romanis nota scriptoribus. Erant in primis Chiltreni- corum montium cultores.

Corinia vulgo Cornewalle a Corino palestrita sic dicta.

Domnonii, vnde & nunc corrupte Deuonia regio occidentalis. Hæc & a quibusdam Damonia dicitur. 30

Doris, Britannice Dour, corrupte Douer, portus olim celebris.

Duria, a Duro flumine præterlabente, vulgo Dorsetshire.

Durouernum Cantiorum metropolis, Saxonice Cantewarbyri.

Fontanus a fonte deriuatum. Fontes numero multitudinis vrbs clara in ipsis Minerariorum montium radicibus sita, quæ 35 Saxonice welles appellatur. Ab Ina autem rege loci illustratore Fontanetum, at antiquitus a Theodoro regulo Theodorodunum dicta est.

Gefforiacum, nunc mutato nomine Bononia. Non defuerunt

qui Icium portum, qui Schlufam, qui Grauelinum pro Gefforiaco posuerint. At frequens recentiorum imperatorum, addo hoc etiam & veterum traiectus a Bononia in Britanniam brevis, ut nihil interrim de Ammiano Marcellino, charta Militari, Fol. 39.

5 Peutingero, aut Beato Rhenano loquar, aliud mihi plane persuadent.

Gleffoburgus, Saxonice Gleffenburgh a paludum aquis cæruleum referentibus colorem nomen retinet: vnde & Dugles nigrocæruleus.

10 Giruii, qui & Fennicolæ partim Grantaniam, partim Venantoduniam, partim etiam Hollandiam Lindisfinam, & limites orientalium Anglorum incolebant.

Granta vrbs olim notissima, & a scriptoribus tum Britannicis, tum Saxonice celebrata, videlicet Felice, & Beda. Britanni hanc
15 sua lingua Cairgrant a fluuio vicino vocabant, Saxones vero a ponte constructo Grantebridge, nunc corrupte Camebridge.

Ifca, Britannicæ Cairwiske, quæ & ciuitas Legionum propter Ifcam fluuium a Nigro Cambrizæ monte in Ventaniam inferiorem illam defluentem.

20 Ifcalis vrbs antiqua Murotrigum, quæ Saxonice ab Iuelo fluuio Iuelcestre, contracte vero Ilcefter dicitur.

Ifidis vadum, Saxonice Ouseford, corrupte Oxford.

Lindocollinum a Lindo fluuio, & colle edito nomen traxit, vnde alias & Lindispharos a specula. Lindum nomen vrbis

25 antiquum.

Lindisfarna Saxonice Halig Eilande propter littus orientale.

Morini quasi maritimi dicti gens Galliz Belgicæ.

Murotriges, qui & Somurotriges vulgo Somersetshire menne. Moridunum vulgo Somerton vrbs olim clara Murotrigum.

30 Meildulphi curia nomen a Meildulpho Scotto literatissimo accepit. Ante enim Britannice Cairbladon vrbs dicta est.

Minerarii, montes altissimi Somariæ, vulgo Minedepe hilles.

Nouus burgus vicus Brigantum disparatus ab Eboraco plus minus decem passuum millibus, notoque illustris Molbreiorum

35 monumento.

Ochis Anglice Oukey amniculus in fabuloso specu Minerarii montis oriens.

Strigulia nunc Chepestow. Antiquum nomen, ut ego colligo, a fluminis Vagæ alueo vicino inditum.

Simeni, meo iudicio, olim fuerunt, qui nunc Auoniani ad meridiem.

Tamar flumen determinans Corinios a Domnoniis.

Vaga fluuius Limonio oriens in monte, Britannice Gowy.

Venta Simenorum ad differentiam Ventæ Belgarum, Ventę Icenorum, Ventæ Sylurum. Crediderim Sylures a fyluarum vmbis, quas frequentabant, fuisse dictos.

Vilugia, Anglice wilugshire, corrupte wileshire.

Verouicum, Saxonice werenwike, vulgo werwike.

Verolamium a fluuio vicino indubie nomen sumpsit. Saxones hanc dixere a publica via Veteliniana wethelingcestre. Nunc emporio nomen Fanum Albani.

Venantodunum id est venatorum mons Saxonice Huntendune.

ERRATA.

Typographus frequentiuscule erravit tum in vocationibus, tum notulis incisionum, quas vel temere subduxit, vel præfixit. Hic reliqua suis detorta locis in ordinem accurate rediguntur.

In epistola nuncupatoria linea. 16. lege collaudant, Addenda & hæc
5 nomina catalogo externorum autorum. Ptolemæus Lucensis, Tritemius, Volateranus, Philippus Bergomas.

Folio primo facie 2. linea. 15. lege repetere. Folio 4 facie 2 linea 16, lege pressisset. Fol. 7 facie prima linea 5, lege & te tua. Ibidem versa pagella linea 13, lege comminus. Folio. 10. prima facie linea 23, lege
10 stabulantur. Ibidem facie secunda, linea 16, lege maiestate. Folio 12 ultimi tres versus terminandi, argento, tum, me. Folio 14 facie prima, linea 13, lege & pro est. Ibidem linea 19 lege consonantius. Fol. 18 facie prima, linea 13, lege liquet. Folio 19 facie secunda, linea 12 lege magnum. Ibidem linea 29 lege accipit, & linea 30, lege montibus, linea 31 lege
15 concluditur. Folio 25 facie secunda, linea ultima, lege vllam. Folio 27 facie prima, linea 8 lege, Conditus hic fuit. Fol. 28 facie prima, linea 12 lege personare, & ibidem linea 19 lege pro condidit contudit. Fol. 29 prima facie linea 26, lege propitia. Fol. 31 facie prima, linea 30, lege palliis. Fol. 35 facie prima, linea 4 lege contemnere. Fol. 36 facie prima, linea
20 13 lege inde pro idem. Et ibidem, linea 14 lege pro dignitate, autoritate.

Impressum Londini apud
Ioannem Herford.

Anni 1544.

Corresponding references in present edition:

line 7. p. 98, l. 2.	p. 102, l. 9.	14. p. 123, ll. 1, 3.
8-9. p. 105, l. 14.	p. 106, l. 10.	15-16. p. 131, l. 4. p. 132, l. 26.
9. p. 109, l. 35.		16. p. 134, l. 5.
10. p. 110, l. 17.	p. 113, ll. 16,	17-18. p. 134, l. 12. p. 135, l. 36.
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13. p. 122, l. 26.		



NOTES

TO RICHARD ROBINSON'S *ASSERTION OF KING ARTHURE.*

7/28. *Arthure Maur*, i. e. Arthur the Great. Cf. 54/32.

20, side-note. The date 316 given for Arthur's coronation is an obvious blunder for 516.

39, side-note. *Robert Caxton who translated the history of K. Arthure.* This blunder in calling William Caxton Robert and crediting him with Malory's translation is wholly Robinson's. Leland obviously knew Malory's work, whereas Robinson apparently had never read Caxton's preface to the *Morte Darthur* or the romance itself. One may wonder what he thought of Leland's reference to Thomas Mailerius, 53/36.

GLOSSARY

TO ROBINSON'S *ASSERTION OF KING ARTHUR*.

abject, *vb.*, reject, disparage, 27/23.
 aliable, *adj.*, trustworthy, 84/38.
 approued, *pp.*, shown, proved, 24/23.
 auoyde, *vb.*, prevent, 29/34.

boules, *sb.*, boles, trunks, 60/8.
 brabler, babbler, chatterer, 84/19.

comprobate, *adj.*, proved, 85/1.
 conquerouse, *adj.*, conquering, 7/32.
 crazed, *adj.*, cracked, 40/4. Cf.
Fr. écrasé.
 customor, *sb.*, custom-house official,
 3.

disburdenance, *sb.*, unburdening,
 freedom from, 25/22.
 discommendable, *adj.*, not to be
 commended, 28/12.

enioyned, *adj.*, entrusted, 32/3.
 enfewe, *vb.*, follow, 28/9.
 eye bryes, *sb.*, eyebrows, 73/5.

factes, *sb.*, deeds, exploits, 49/34.
 forman, *sb.*, originator, 49/14.
 furdurance, *sb.*, help, service, 32/32.

garboyle, *sb.*, conflict, tumult, 23/29.
 glofe, *vb.*, deceive, cheat, 19/5.

hand firoakes, *sb.*, blows, 46/22.
 hitherto, *adv.*, hitherto, 27/33.
 hetherunto, in addition, 28/9.

inconueniently, *adv.*, unfittingly,
 56/35.

magnanimitie, *sb.*, ability, 25/28.
 maugre, *prep.*, despite, 8/14.
 mountayny, *adj.*, mountainous, 47/29.

nouicy, *sb.*, inexperience, 84/14.

odible, *adj.*, hateful, 7/4.
 otherwhiles . . . otherwhiles, some-
 times . . . sometimes, 24/22.

performe, *vb.*, make, 32/2.
 portracted, *pp.*, portrayed, 13/18.
 puyfant, *adj.*, powerful, 30/33.

quocynes, *sb.*, coins, 48/35.

renoumed, *adj.*, renowned, 3, 8/1.

sincere, *adj.*, pure, unmixed, 29/23.
 smally, *adv.*, in slight degree, 24/37.

their, *adv.*, there, 27/4.
 then, *conj.*, than, 5/37, 13/22, 17/5,
 17/18, 20, 26, &c. Cf. *than*,
 27/35.
 there, *poss. pron.*, their, 27/8.

vtterfide, *sb.*, outside, 40/9.

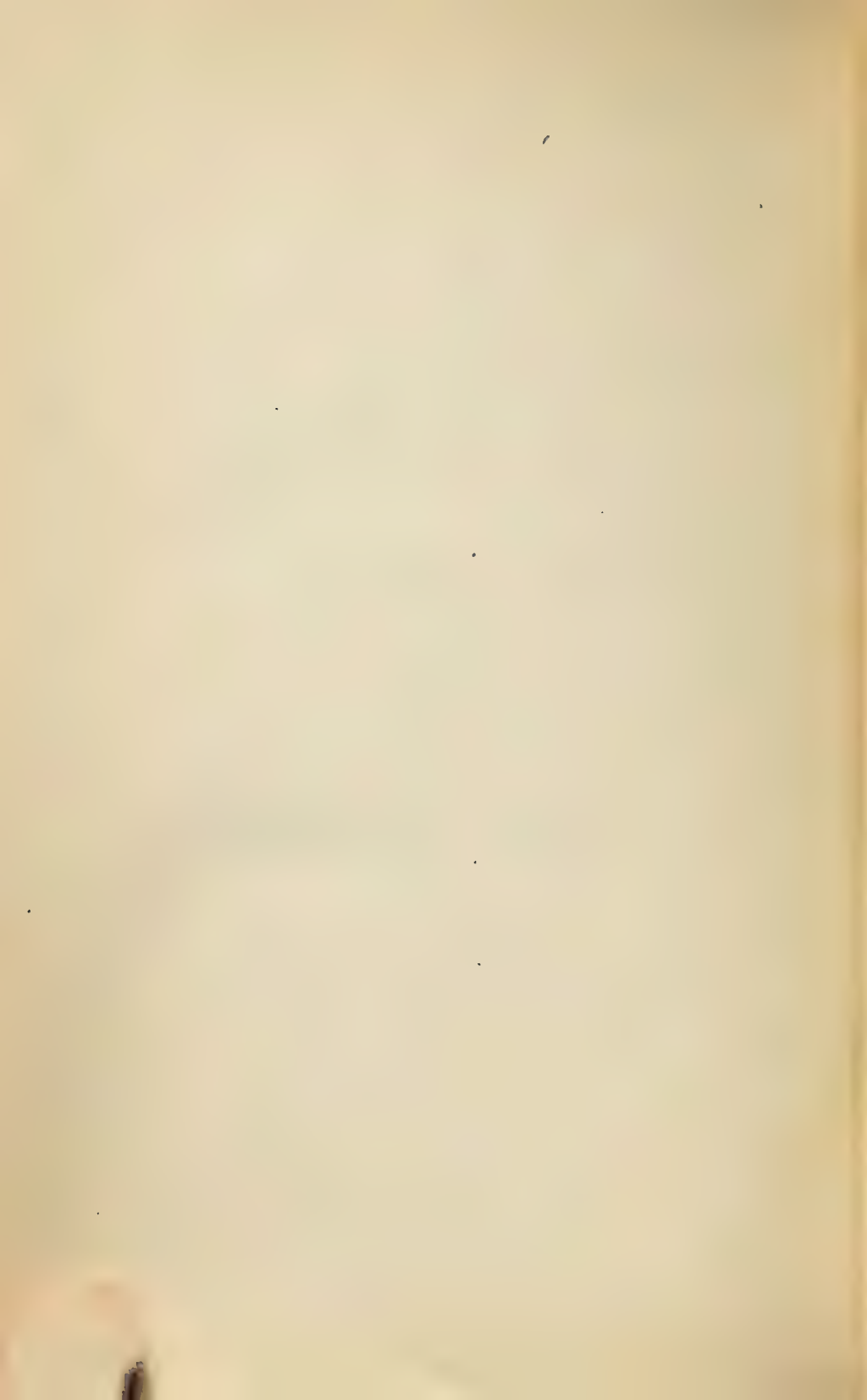
witty, *adj.*, clever, 76/13.
 write, *pret.*, wrote, 25/15.

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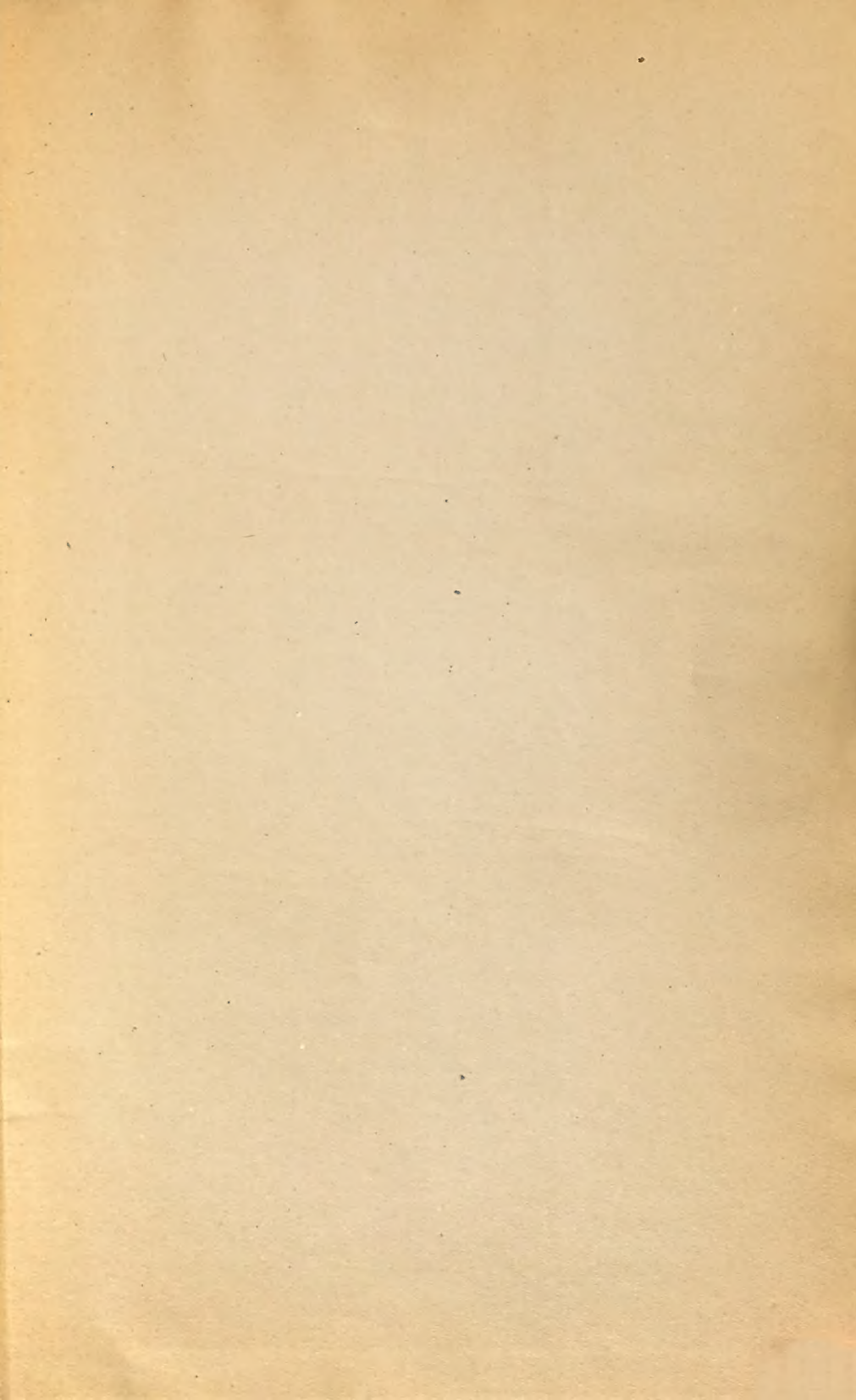
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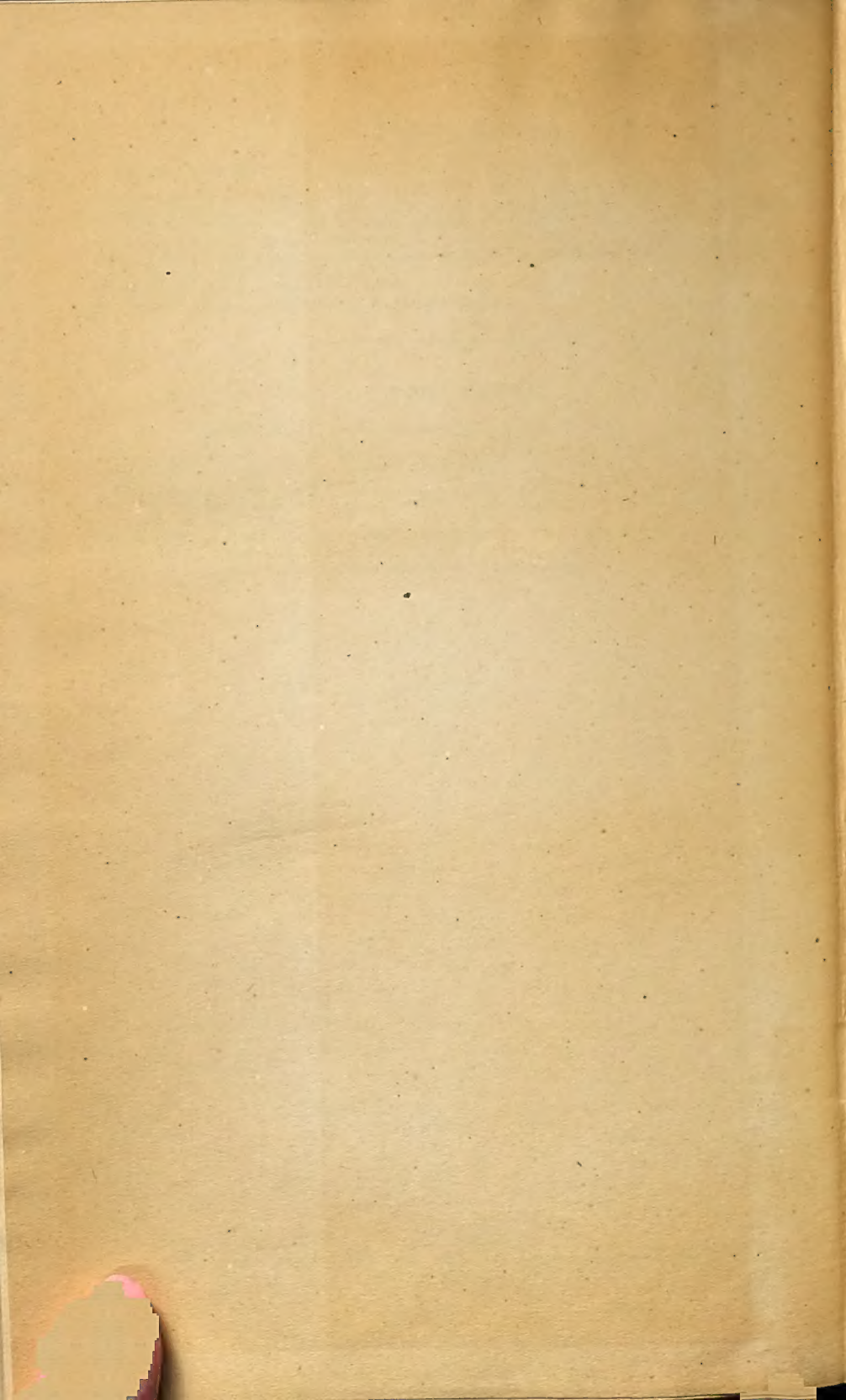
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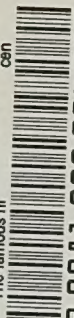




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